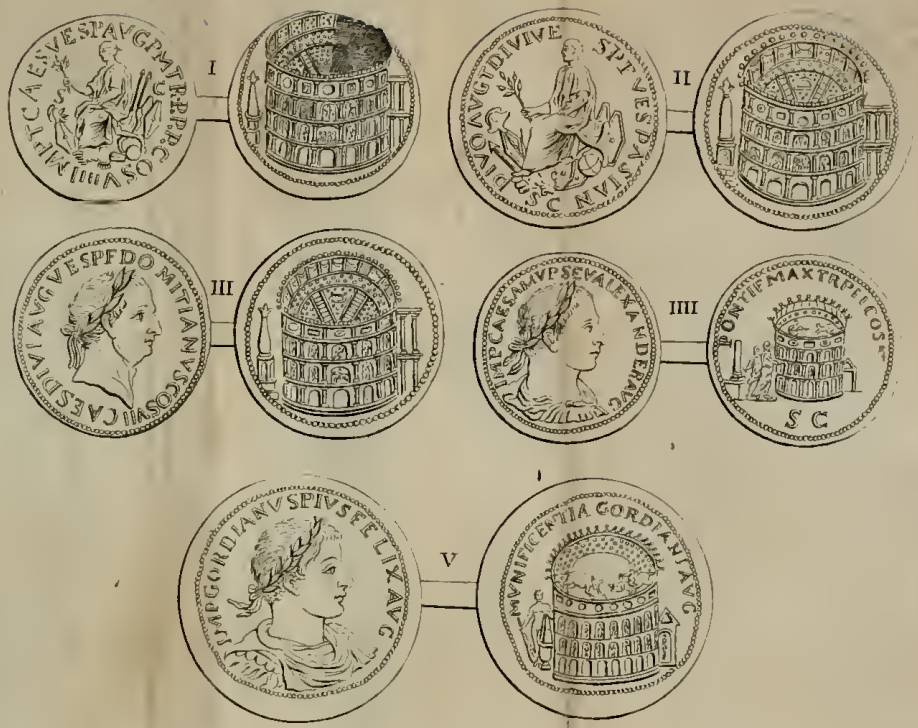
Plate I.



A

Compleat HISTORY
Of the Ancient
AMPHITHEATRES.

More peculiarly Regarding
The ARCHITECTURE of those BUILDINGS,

And in Particular
That of *VERONA.*

By the Marquis SCIPIO MAFFEI.

Made *English* from the *Italian* Original
By *ALEXANDER GORDON*, A.M.
Adorned with SCULPTURES.

ALSO
Some Account of this Learned Work:

Which Contains likewise,

I. A Succinct History of *Gladiators*, and *Gladiatory-Shews*; with their Origin and Progress.
II. Of *Inscriptions* relating to *Amphitheatres*.
III. The Manner of Baiting *Wild-Beasts* among the Ancients.
IV. Of Subterraneous *Conduits*, and other *Aquæducts*.
V. A Detection of the Errors of *Lipsius*, *Fontana*, and others who have written upon this Subject.
VI. The Destroyers of Ancient Monuments exposed; especially some under the Pontificate of the late Pope BENEDICT XIII.
VII. An Account of Genuine MEDALS; and a Description of the most Remarkable Structures of the *Ancients*.

LONDON;
Printed for HARMEN NOORTHOUCK, in the *Great-Piazza*, *Covent-Garden*. M.DCC.XXX.

Price 6 *s*.

TO

GEORGE BOWS

Of *Streatleham-Caſtle*, Eſq;

IF a Deſcent from an Illuſtrious Race of Patriots, ſuch as *Camden* is Witneſs that your Predeceſſors have been; if the Poſſeſſion of a Plentiful Fortune, of a Numerous and Powerful Friendſhip, and of a General Eſteem, were ſufficient to render a Man happy; there are very few that would have a greater Share

of Felicity than your ſelf: But you are ſenſible, Sir, that the beſt Judges of Human Nature would not eſteem you ſuch, notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, did you not poſſeſs the Nobler Endowments of the Mind. Theſe are the Qualities that improve the Gentleman, a mere amiable Character, into that of the higheſt Utility, the Patriot: 'Tis by theſe alone that Honours, Riches, and Intereſt become uſeful, and conduce not only to the Happineſs of the Poſſeſſor, but to that of Mankind in general; 'tis by theſe, that a Man not only diſpenſes Good in his own Time, but entails a laſting and improveable Felicity on After-Ages.

THE Advantage of your Patronage to this Piece, might here be a ſufficient Reaſon for a Dedication, had I not been affected with a much ſtronger Motive, the Deſire I have of declaring to the World how much I am indebted to your Bounty. I am

ſenſible

ſenſible that this Performance is a very ſmall Return for the Favours I've received; and yet I ſhould think my Labour very well beſtowed, could I deſerve the leaſt Part of that Approbation you will give the Learned Author of the Original. I have this at leaſt in my favour, that 'tis much more difficult to tranſlate than to compoſe.

THAT you may long live, and continue to be the Patron of Learning and Virtue, and the Happineſs of ſuch as are honoured with your Friendſhip, is the ſincere Wiſh of,

SIR,

Your moſt Humble and

moſt Obliged Servant,

ALEXANDER GORDON.

PREFACE.

THE *great Figure the Marquis* Scipio Maffei *makes in the Learned World, and the juſt Fame he has acquired by the many excellent Works he has publiſhed, made me anxious to ſee this his laſt Performance on the ancient Amphitheatres; which by a diligent Peruſal I found of the greater Importance, as it was handled with that ſuperior Share of Learning, Truth and Accuracy, which runs throughout the Whole.*

The Author [*whoſe chief fault, if any at all, ſeems to be that becoming Modeſty which is the ſureſt Evidence of good Senſe, and what commonly attends Merit*] *has not prefix'd his Name to his Treatiſe, tho' by the elegant Manner in which the Piece is conducted, none vers'd in* Italian *Antiquity can be at a loſs, on reading, to judge it the Work of the abovemention'd Gentleman; and indeed it certainly was compiled by him.*

The

The Editor of the original Treatiſe in Italian, *gives the Public to underſtand in his Preface, that it was deſigned to be the laſt Tome of a Work, which the Author intended to publiſh under the Title of* Verona Illuſtrata, *tho' now it happens to be the firſt: and the Reaſon given, is, becauſe this Treatiſe on the Amphitheatres was, he ſays, with great Earneſtneſs ſought after by the Curious in ſeveral parts of* Europe; *for which reaſon he prevailed on the Author,* [*who, he adds, is ſufficiently well known*] *to give him the Copy, that it might be publiſhed apart, and without delay.*

He likewiſe tells us, that by giving ſuch an Account of the Work, the Reader may know the Reaſon why he did not print it in a larger Volume; nay, even in Folio, as ſome deſired it might, there being ſo many who in this Age love coſtly Performances, as if, ſays he, a Book had not its greateſt Value from the Matter it contains, but from the Price alone. He likewiſe adds, that the Treatiſe, as it was printed in the original Italian, *is ſuited to the Size of the other Tomes, that are to be publiſhed, and to the Copper-plates in them, which tho' ſmall, are however not leſs ſatisfactory with regard to their illuſtrating the Subject, nor are they in the main leſs valuable; and he appeals to the Curious, whether it is not better to publiſh the Prints*

relating to the Amphitheatres in a ſmall Size, than in a manner too much practiſed at preſent, which muſt be diſreliſhed by thoſe who truly underſtand Antiquity; *by which he means the pompous way ſome People have taken of publiſhing Ornaments and Parts to Remains of Antiquity, which never belong'd to them.*

The ſame Editor ſubjoins, that by the Form in which the Cuts in the Italian *Original are exhibited,* [*which are the ſame with theſe in this Book*] *the learned Stranger travelling in* Italy, *may have the Pleaſure of carrying the Book in his Pocket; ſo that at whatever time he viſits the ancient Monuments themſelves, from which the whole is taken, he may thereby be able to examine and ſee if what is repreſented in the Treatiſe be according to Truth and Exactneſs.*

This being the Subſtance of what the Italian *Publiſher ſays in his Preface, I ſhall not for my part anticipate the Satisfaction which the learned Reader will have in peruſing the Treatiſe itſelf: I ſhall therefore only ſay in general, tho' with Deference to the Opinion of better Judges, that there are few Books of ſo ſmall a Size, wherein there appear more Erudition, Truth or Accuracy: For not only has the Author given the Architectonic Parts of the Buildings as examined by himſelf on the Spot, but as*

measured with his own Hands in the most exact manner imaginable, as will soon appear in reading the Book itself. There is a great Difference therefore between the Marquis Maffei, *and others who have wrote before him on the Subject, since they having relied on the Accounts they had from second Hands, and at a distance, have thereby not only been misled themselves, but misguided others, who copying from them, have only contributed to multiply Error. But our Author, on the contrary, has neither regarded what has been said concerning these things, tho' the Assertions of learned Men, nor been byas'd in any one Point, wherever their Accounts have interfered with, or contradicted Matter of Fact, always directing himself by the Buildings and Monuments of Antiquity still subsisting.*

And as it is certain, that the Neglect of digging to the Foundations of the Amphitheaters, in order to discover the Parts of those Structures under Ground, has occasioned the Authors, who till now, have treated about them, either to speak so slightly on that Head, [*as if examining the Foundations, was of no Importance in their Accounts of the Superstructure*] *or if they have mentioned any thing this way, their Descriptions have of necessity been very imperfect and erroneous; and thereby it is*

im-

impoſſible for their Readers to have from them any true Idea of thoſe magnificent Edifices. Our Author has been ſo far from imitating their Example in this particular, that ſcarce has any part belonging to the Amphitheatres been exhibited with more Skill and Accuracy, than thoſe under ground. In this he has ſucceeded ſo well, that he has given an exact Plan of the Foundations of the Walls of the exterior and interior Incloſures, Podium, *Steps, ſubterranneous Conduits and Apartments there, which he ſhews ſerved for various and curious Uſes; all which for theſe ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred Years have been unſearch'd for, and unknown, not a little to the Diſadvantage of our modern Architects, who, if they pretend to Elegance or Accuracy in their Art, muſt learn from the School of the Ancients; and not only conſider the Superſtructures, but likewiſe deſcend to the Foundations of their magnificent Buildings.*

There is another Particular which our Author ſhews plainly has contributed not a little to the propagating a falſe Notion of Amphitheatres in general; and it is that hinted at by the Italian *Editor in his Preface juſt now mentioned; that is to ſay, the Method that many have got into, of adding Ornaments and Parts to ancient Buildings, which never have, nor could,*

with any Propriety have belong'd to them, and upon Examination they are found to be mere Chimæras, and the Fancies of thoſe who deſire their Treatiſes of Antiquity ſhould make a pompous Figure to the Eye, and raiſe the popular Value of their Performances. I own this is ſapping the Foundation of Truth itſelf, and robbing us of what is chiefly valuable in the rich Treaſure of Antiquity, its genuine Character. And I wonder the Authors of ſuch Fictions have not been afraid to be treated by the Ingenious as Traytors to Learning and Knowledge, and their Works ranked in the ſame Claſs that Hiſtorians do thoſe of Annius *of* Viterbo: *And I am ſorry to ſee with how much Truth our Author has had occaſion to reprove other Antiquaries and Architects, who have but too viſibly impoſed their ample and numerous Fictions on the World for Realities; tho' I am afraid his Cenſure on them will ſcarce deter ſome of our modern Gentlemen, who ſeem to revive Antiquity much after the ſame Manner as* Pythagoras *remembred his pre-exiſtent State. What Miſtakes have been made by* Lipſius, Fontana, *and others, who have treated on the Subject of Amphitheatres, our Author corrects in ſo modeſt and genteel a Manner, as ſhews he has had much Deference for the deſerved great Characters of theſe Men, particularly*

Lipſius,

Lipsius, *whose superior Learning and Genius he greatly admires, as he does* Fontana's *Skill in Architecture. And indeed, the handsome manner in which he corrects their Errors, shews him both a Scholar and a Gentleman: Tho' the other more inconsiderable Writers, who have imposed their injudicious Ornaments and Fictions on Mankind for Truths, he has reproved with the Severity they deserve, as he has done another Class of Men, whom I may indeed rank but a Degree higher than Beasts,* viz. *the Destroyers of ancient Monuments. These, he has exposed by their Names and Surnames, to the perpetual Reproach of Mankind; and may such as follow their Example never meet with better Usage! Such Instances we have of the like Brutishness in the Pontificate of* Benedict XIII. *the late Pope, by the Destruction of* Livia's Columbarium, *and the Bagnio's of* Augustus *lately discovered, not a little to the Scandal of* Rome *herself, and Regret of the Lovers of ancient good Taste and Grandeur.*

I cannot omit mentioning the Obligations the Learned are under to the Marquis Maffei, *for exploding a vulgar Error, which till now has been prevalent among Antiquaries and others; namely, that in several places out of* Rome, *and in the* Roman *Colonies, there were a great number of Amphitheatres, and that the Ruins of them*

are

are ſtill to be ſeen: whereas this very Learned and Judicious Author makes it evident by convincing Proofs, that there never were more than three real Amphitheatres in Europe, viz. *the* Coliſeum *at* Rome, *built by* Veſpaſian; *the other at* Verona, *called the* Arena; *and the third at* Capua. *And he plainly proves, that the others pretended to be at* Nimes *in* Languedoc, Pola *in* Iſtria, Syracuſe *in* Sicily, Italica *in* Spain, *in the Iſland* Candia; Puzzuola *near* Naples, &c. *are not Amphitheatres, but magnificent Theatres only. In how judicious a manner he diſtinguiſhes between theſe two kinds of different Edifices, will beſt appear to the Unprejudiced and Learned Reader, when he peruſes the Treatiſe itſelf, and muſt, I think, give a general Satisfaction.*

But what, in my humble Opinion, is one of the greateſt Beauties and Excellencies in the whole Work, is that Learned and Maſterly, but Succinct Manner, by which our Author has given the ancient Hiſtory of Gladiators, and Gladiatory Shews in general, their Origine, and Progreſs throughout all the different Ages he mentions; as likewiſe the Time when, Manner how, and End for which Amphitheatres were firſt built. Therein has he conſulted and quoted the beſt Greek *and* Roman *Hiſtorians, Poets and others: from theſe he plainly proves,*

proves, that Amphitheatres were not a Greek, *but a* Roman *Invention, and that no ſuch Building was ever in uſe in* Greece. *After them he has recourſe to the Writers in the Ages neareſt to the Times of the Declenſion of the* Roman *Empire, and makes uſe of the Hints given about Amphitheatres by the Fathers, and after them by ſome of the Monkiſh Writers, in their Lives of* Romiſh *Saints: which laſt Particular I hear has been diſreliſhed by ſome Critics in this Country. But all I have to ſay as to that Particular, is, that ſome Truth may be picked out of the moſt indifferent of ſuch Writers; beſides, the Marquis does not enter into the Merit of the Legends and Miracles, nor decide any thing about them, whether true or falſe; only makes uſe of the Traditions found in them, relating to Amphitheatres and Theatres in general: which laſt belong'd to his Subject, in giving the hiſtorical Account of them from the Times wherein they were built, down to the preſent Age. Nay, he is ſo far from ſetting any Value on thoſe Legends, that in one part of his Book he finds very great fault in ſome Writers, in their Accounts of Amphitheatres, for laying ſo great a Streſs as what they do, on Books of Martyrdoms and Miracles of Saints, and the like.*

There is another Particular, which I hear is diſliked by the Critics who have peruſed

perused the Treatise in the original Italian, *and that is the Obscurity of the Style in some places of the Work: but as to this, I think Allowances should be made, considering the Author does not reside in that part of* Italy *where they boast of the greatest Purity in the* Italian *Language. Besides, by the* Italian *Editor, in his Preface, we find, the Work was in a manner hurried to the Press; which we may see was the reason, perhaps, not only of the Obscurity of the Style in some places, as not having time to polish it, and render those Passages so Intelligible as the rest, but of the Author's Additions to, or rather Omissions out of the Text, which are annex'd at the end of the Book by way of Appendix.*

I own in some places I have found it pretty difficult to come at the Author's true Meaning; but this may rather be attributed to the Intricacy of the Subject, than to any Obscurity of the Learned Compiler. I have endeavour'd to do him all the Justice in my Power, nor have I been negligent in shewing what I thought most intricate in the Language, to some very good Judges of Italian, *who have agreed with me in the manner I have rendered it in* English. *And if I arrive at the sole Aim I proposed by this Translation, namely, to make the Substance and Scope of the truly Learned Author known to the Curious in* Britain, *who are not Masters of the* Italian, *I shall think my own Labour therein well bestowed. I*

I shall conclude this Preface by adding what I think is but the Marquis MAFFEI's *just due; which is, that there does not only appear a vast Fund of Erudition throughout almost every Part of the Work, but what is most satisfactory of all, those things which are of the greatest Importance to the Subject, are not only illustrated, but demonstrated, from what the Author has seen in, or measured from the Monuments themselves; or, from genuine Medals and Inscriptions; which are the true* Criterion *by which Truth in matters of Antiquity are known and distinguished from Falshood. All which, I humbly think, is done not a little to the Satisfaction of those who delight in ancient Learning and things of elegant Taste, and who have Pleasure in seeing true Views exhibited, and a perfect Description given of the most sumptuous and stupendous Structures of the Ancients.*

DIRECTIONS for placing the CUTS.

PLATE I. To *front* the *Title-Page*.
——II. In *Chap.* XI. —— Pag. 123
——III. Before Book II. —— 190
——IV. In *Chap.* II. —— 205
——V. *Ibid.* —— 210
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——XII. In *Chap.* XIV. —— 352
——XIII. To front *Chap.* XV. —— 357
——XIV. ——*Chap.* XVI. —— 375
——XV. ——*Ibid.* —— 399

OF AMPHITHEATRES;

And particularly of that of

VERONA.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the Original *of* GLADIATORS *in* ROME.

IT muſt in particular be allowed, that the Grandeur and Elegancy of the ancient Edifices, are among thoſe things, which are now more to be admired than imitated.

Amphitheatres, with regard to Magnificence and Bulk, Workmanſhip and Art, were certainly ſuperior to all the others; and indeed the well comprehending the

Nature of ſuch Structures, is no leſs entertaining than uſeful, eſpecially for illuſtrating Hiſtory.

It is a receiv'd Opinion, that nothing more can well be ſaid on this Subject, after what is already publiſhed by ſo many Writers, particularly *Juſtus Lipſius*, who, I own, has treated the Matter with Judgment and Learning, and after *Carlo Fontana*, whoſe large Volume thereon was lately printed in *Holland*. But not to derogate from the Praiſes due to each of theſe Authors, I believe I ſhall be able plainly to ſhew, that the Structure of thoſe Fabricks has not, as yet, been well underſtood in the moſt ingenious Parts of them. The Affair lying hitherto in Obſcurity, and not ſearched after in what is moſt eſſential, becauſe it never has been treated in Order, nor purged from the many falſe Opinions prevalent in all the Books wrote on the Subject, which prove detrimental to other Branches of Learning; tho' from a right underſtanding of this, depends the Knowledge of many Places in both ſacred and profane Writers; ſo that ſuch an Enquiry will be found of more real Benefit than what many are aware of: For which Reaſon we ſhall endeavour here to trace the Affair from its firſt Source.

The Publick Shews exhibited in the Combats of Wild Beaſts one with the other, and

and not that of Gladiators, were the true Motives for firſt erecting Amphitheatres. Gladiatory Combats, 'tis true, were long in Uſe at *Rome*, though at that Time they never thought of building ſuch Fabricks; but as ſoon as remote Countries were conquered, and the Victors poſſeſſed of Power and Riches, then began new Kinds of Diverſions and Pleaſures to be invented, and a Deſire in People to ſee Beaſts fight fiercely with one another, which till then were unknown in our Climate, hence they began to think of erecting Amphitheatres.

In effect, the moſt famous Amphitheatre of any, was, as [1] *Dio* relates, begun by an Emperor who held Gladiators in no manner of Eſteem; the Name given to thoſe Edifices when firſt built, was *Theatrum Venatorium*, or the Theatre for Hunting, as will ſoon appear, and which Name was retained by [2] *Caſſiodorus*; ſo that it was not the Combats of Gladiators, but the Fighting of wild Beaſts, which was underſtood by the Word Hunting. 'Tis true, Amphitheatres ſerved afterwards for the one as well as the other: But as the Uſe of having gladiatory Combats was ſo much anterior to the other, we ſhall therefore firſt of all mention ſomething concerning them.

[1] *V. Xephil. in Veſp.*
[2] *Var. lib. 5. 42. Theatrum Venatorium.*

A Motive in Religion paved the Way firſt to this celebrated Inſtitution, namely, that moſt ancient Opinion, That the Souls of the Deceaſed, who were in a certain Manner deified by leaving the Body, delighted in human Blood; and that the Slaughter of Men, by way of Sacrifice in Honour of them, rendered them propitious, or at leaſt pleaſed, and their Wrath appeas'd, as if ſlain to ſatisfy their Revenge. This Opinion occaſioned great Cruelty to fall on the Priſoners of War: And as to its Antiquity, in one of [3] *Homer*'s moſt conſiderable Poems, we find that *Achilles* ſlew Twelve of the young *Trojan* Nobility at the Pile of *Patroclus*: But as [4] *Servius* obſerves, the maſſacring Men in ſuch a ſhocking Manner, appearing too inhuman, they thought fit to introduce a Practice ſomething like it, by way of Combat; and this ſeems to be hinted by *Herodotus*, in his Account of the *Thracians*; but that Paſſage bears, perhaps, another Meaning, the Author ſpeaking only of thoſe Conteſts and funeral Games to which Rewards were annexed: So that notwithſtanding [5] *Lipſius* believes it, yet I cannot be of Opinion, that the Origine of thoſe Gladiators, called *Thraci*, or *Thracians*, is to be deduced from

[3] *Iliad.*
[4] *Ad Æn. X. quod poſtquam Crudele viſum, &c.*
[5] *Sat.*

thence.

thence. [6] *Dyillus* from *Athenæus* writes, that *Caſſander* (at the Funeral of *Arideus* King of *Macedon*, and his Wife) cauſed four Soldiers to combat with one another; yet this is thought no Proof that the Gladiators came originally from *Greece* to *Rome*. The Fact related by *Dyillus* is, I own, ſingular; but neither did this Uſage begin in *Greece*, much leſs take Footing there, by way of Publick Shew. We know very well, that among ſo many Kinds of Exerciſes at the Olympick Games, there never were any gladiatory Combats. In [7] *Vitruvius* we read, that the Piazzas or open Places in *Italy*, were made in a different Manner from thoſe in *Greece*, and for a Uſe handed down to them from their Fore-fathers, namely for exhibiting therein their famous Publick Shews; which however were never ſeen in *Greece*, unleſs brought thither from *Rome*: Yet I remember a Paſſage in [8] *Lucian*, which has made many believe, that even in ancient Times both Gladiators and Wild Beaſts were in Uſe on the Theatre of *Athens*; but one may plainly ſee, that Account of the *Toxari* is fabulous. We know from *Livy*, that *Perſeus* the laſt King of *Macedon*, was the firſt who inſtituted Gladiators in *Greece*, whom he made come from *Rome* thither,

[6] *Lerm. l. 1. c. 9.* [7] *L. 5. c. 1.* [8] *In Tox.*

more for the [9] Terror than Pleaſure of that People, who were unaccuſtomed to ſuch kinds of Shews; nor for all that, did that King continue them there, nor after him were they eſtabliſhed in any Part of *Greece*; for if ſo, we ſhould have had frequent mention thereof in Writers; nay, ſuch kind of Repreſentations would be ſeen remaining on the *Grecian* Monuments of Antiquity. In proceſs of Time, 'tis true, *Corinth* received thoſe Exerciſes; but that City having been intirely deſtroy'd by *Lucius Mummius*, *Cæſar* was obliged to repeople it with new Colonies from *Rome*, as [1] *Dio* tells us: And [2] *Pauſanias* avers, That in his Time there was no *Corinthian* Inhabitant there at all, and none but *Romans* ſent thither on purpoſe from *Rome*.

The *Athenians*, when at Variance with *Corinth*, ſometimes called in the *Romans* to their Aſſiſtance; but as it appears by [3] *Lucian*, they were diſſuaded therefrom by *Demonattes*, and [4] *Dion Chryſoſtomus* greatly blames thoſe *Greeks* for having ſuffered the *Romans* to come among them.

The *Romans* did therefore, 'tis plain, not receive the aforeſaid Uſage from the *Greeks*, but from the *Italians*, or rather

[9] *Lib.* 41. *cum terrore hominum inſuetorum ad tale ſpectaculum.* [1] *Dio l.* 43. [2] *Pauſ. in Cor.* [3] *In vit. Demon.* [4] *Orat.* 31.

Hetru-

Hetrurians, among whom it was a peculiar and immemorial Inſtitution.

[5] *Vitruvius* tells us, that thoſe kinds of Publick Shews were originally *Italian*, and handed down to the Inhabitants of *Italy* by their Fore-fathers. The Truth of this appears very evident, by the Figures upon the ſepulchral Monuments of the *Hetrurians*, nothing being oftner ſeen there than ſuch kinds of Combats, and Men in the Attitudes of killing one another with Knives and Swords, and other various and uncommon Weapons; all which may be obſerved in the great Collection of *Hetrurian* Antiquities made lately at *Florence*.

Thoſe Combats were not only in uſe at Funerals; but likewiſe at their Feaſts, Duels were appointed for Amuſement and Pleaſure; as [6] *Athenæus* mentions, ſpeaking of the Inhabitants of the *Campagna*, who were *Hetruſci* or *Hetrurians*. *Eratoſthenes* from the ſame Author ſays, That thoſe People uſed to fight at the Sound of [7] Flutes; but the Word here ſeems rather to imply Boxers, though the Context itſelf indicates Gladiators, in which Senſe *Caſaubon* underſtood it; here likewiſe *Athenæus* quotes the following Words of the old Hiſtorian [8] *Nicholaus Damaſcenus*, who ſays, that

[5] *L. 5. c. 1.* [6] *Lib. 4.* [7] *Ib.* πρὸς αὐλὸν πυκτεύειν. [8] παρὰ τυῤῥηνοῖς, *&c.*

The gladiatory Shews were exhibited by the Romans, *not only at their publick Meetings, and on their Theatres, taking the Cuſtom from the* Hetrurians; *but they uſed them at their Feaſts alſo.*

By this Paſſage, [9] *Lipſius* ſuſpected that the Inſtitution was originally *Greek*, becauſe [1] *Hermippus* ſaid, That the *Mantinei* were the Inventers of Duels; but one may fairly ask, How far we muſt defere to his Authority? Or, what does he underſtand by the Word [2] *Duellers?* Surely ſomething very different from gladiatory Shews! We have, I think, ſufficiently demonſtrated in our Treatiſe about the Primitive *Italians*, annexed to the Hiſtory of *Diplomas*, that the *Hetrurians* otherwiſe alſo had not their Inſtitutions and Arts from the *Grecians*. [3] *Iſidorus* affirmed, that even the Word *Laniſta*, given to thoſe who bought, maintained, and trained the Gladiators to fighting, was *Hetrurian*, and in that Language ſignified a Hangman.

The ſame [4] Author believed alſo, that the Gladiators, called *Velites*, were ſo named from an *Hetrurian* City. This eſcaped *Lipſius*'s Obſervation, when otherwiſe he very learnedly illuſtrates the Matter, and enumerates the different Kinds

[9] *Sat.* [1] *Lerm. lib.* 1. *c.* 8. [2] Ἢ μονομαχούντων.
[3] *Orig. l.* 10. *Carnifex Tuſca lingua.* [4] *L.* 18. *c.* 57.

of

of them; but upon one of [5] *Fabretti's* antique Stones we have them pointed out, and ranged among the other Classes of Gladiators; and I find them plainly named in *Ovid*, where he says,

Utque petit primo plenum flaventis arenæ
Nondum calfacti velitis hasta solum;
Sic, &c.

'Twas the Business of those *Velites* to begin the Games, as it was of the Military ones, to make the first Onset at Battles, and to be nimble and expeditious like them. *Isidore* further says, That in their Combats, the Clashing of their Spears, was more agreeable to the Spectators than any of the others. The *Flavens Arena*, mentioned by *Ovid*, indicates the Usage related by [6] *Pliny*, of their mixing Crisocolla or Terraverd with the Sand: For my Part, I believe that they were the same kind of Gladiators spoke of in that Passage of [7] *Artimedorus*, where he distinctly mentions them; only in the Place of προβάκλος, as we find in Print, it should be read προβοήτωρ, a Provoker or Challenger: That it ought to bear this Reading, appears to me plain, because the first Word is not to be found in either *Greek* or *Latin*; and I have with Pleasure since, search'd for a very curious [8] Manuscript thereof in the publick Library of

[5] *In Ibid.* [6] *L.* 33. *c.* 5. [7] *L.* 2. *c.* 33. [8] *Cod.* 1. 5. 5.

St.

St. *Mark*, in which I found its Reading in the laſt manner. The gladiatory Claſs of Challengers is mentioned by [9] *Cicero*, wherein 'tis ſhewn, that thoſe were the ſame, called *Velites*, who, as the very Word implies, firſt began the Games, challenging and provoking the others to Fight; but becauſe they did not ſtand their Ground; but turned and ran to and fro, *Artimedorus* ſays, to dream of them, denoteth a wanton, pliable Woman.

Gladiatory Exerciſes, 'tis certain, were particular Uſages among the moſt ancient Inhabitants of *Italy*, not only as they imagined them agreeable to the Dead, but diverting to the Living; being well adapted to their fierce and warlike Genius; nay, perhaps, they imagin'd that ſuch Things might contribute not a little to excite Courage in the People. [1] *Pliny the Younger* was of Opinion, that ſuch kind of Shews were proper to inſpire Fortitude, and make Men deſpiſe Wounds and Death, ſhewing that even the loweſt Rank of Mankind were ambitious of Victory and Praiſe.

This Cuſtom being introduced among the *Romans*, in proceſs of Time they augmented it beyond meaſure, both with regard to their frequent Attendance at ſuch

[9] *Pro. Seſt.* [1] *Paneg. c.* 33.

Enter-

Entertainments, and the Pomp with which they were carried on. The firſt Time that in *Rome* the Solemnity of gladiatory Shews was exhibited, may be reckoned to have been in the *Varronian* Year 490, when the Two Brothers the [2] *Bruti* cauſed three Couples of Gladiators to fight publickly, in Memory of their deceas'd Father, and to do Honour to his Obſequies. From the Honours done the Dead, theſe Things, as [3] *Tertullian* ſays, were immediately applied to the Living alſo; for as they were exceedingly agreeable to the Multitude, thoſe who were advanced to certain eminent Stations in the State, began to have them celebrated at their own Charge, and that by way of Preſent or Retribution to the People, for having elected them; hence were they call'd [4] *Donatives*, or Gifts. The Places where thoſe Combats were celebrated, (excepting in the earlieſt Times, when they fought before the Sepulchres) were, for the moſt part, in the Squares or open Places of the Cities, as being more ſpacious than the others, conſequently fitter for containing and accommodating the Spectators; and in the Porticos of thoſe Squares they made the Intercolumniations larger, on purpoſe that the View might be the leſs obſtructed.

[2] *Epit. Liv. l.* 16. [3] *De Spect.* [4] *Munera.*

The

The firſt Game of the *Bruti*, already mentioned, we have an Account of from *Valerius Maximus*, and that it was in the *Forum Boarium*, called ſo from its being the Market for Oxen.

In *Polybius*'s Time, *viz.* the 6th Age of *Rome*, the gladiatory Employment was reduced to an Art; hence they fought not only with mere Force, but ſeveral dexterous Kinds of Combating were invented.

CHAP. II.

Of the Games of Wild Beaſts, and of the firſt Notion People had of making Amphitheatres.

THE firſt publick Shew of Wild Beaſts exhibited, was in the Year of *Rome* 502 [1], when the Elephants (taken from the *Carthaginians*, on the Victory obtained by *Lucius Metellus* in *Sicily*) were brought into the *Circus*: But if we rely on what *Pliny* quotes from *Feneſtella*, the making them fight, was not in Uſe till about the middle of the following Age, when *Claudius Pulcher* was [2] Ædile: But if we take the Authority of [3] *Seneca* and [4] *Aſconius Pedia-*

[1] *Plin. l.* 8. *c.* 6. [2] *C.* 8. [3] *Sen. Br. vit. c.* 13. [4] *Aſc. in Pitonian.*

nus,

nus, it began only in the Time of *Pompey*; nor did the Combats of other Beasts ensue, till after the Second [5] *Punic* War, when the *Carthaginian Africa* was reduced to a kind of Servitude.

In effect, the first mention that I can find of them in the *Roman* History, is in the Year 568, when *Marcus Fulvius* celebrated those Games with greater Pomp than has ever been since, and which, in the *Ætolic* War he vowed to perform. *Livy* relates, That at that Time, besides the Exercises of the *Athletæ*, which were first seen at *Rome*; there was a Hunting of Lions and Panthers given; that this was the first, I prove from the same Author, who most diligently mentions those Games from time to time, yet makes not the least mention of any anterior to this, unless it be in such of his Books as are wanting: But 20 Years after, at the [6] *Circensian* Games, he there shews them to have been vastly improved and augmented in Pomp, where no less than 63 Panthers, 40 Bears, and some Elephants, were exposed to publick View. But Luxury and Riches by degrees increasing, [7] *Marcus Scaurus* in his Ædilate, exhibited 150 Tygers, 5 Crocodiles, and an Hippopotamus or River Horse. But

[5] *Dio l.* 43. [6] *L.* 43. [7] *Plin. l.* 8. *cap.* 16, 17, 26.

as

as [8] *Seneca* affirms, in the Prætorſhip of *Sylla*, two Lions were let looſe, notwithſtanding 'twas uſual at firſt, to bring them into the *Circus* chain'd.

But *Pompey the Great*, at the Games he celebrated, on dedicating his Theatre, vaſtly exceeded all the reſt which had gone before him; for after all the other Kinds of Diverſions had been ſeen, the laſt [9] five Days of the Games were ſpent in hunting the wild Beaſts, where were [1] 410 Tygers, 500 Lions, and a Number of Elephants, ſhot at by *African* Men; the Lynx, the Rhinoceros, and a Number of ſtrange Beaſts were there ſhewn to publick View, even ſome brought from *Æthiopia*.

Cæſar, after the Civil War was ended, divided his hunting Games, ſo as to laſt five Days alſo, in the firſt of which the [2] Camleopard was ſhewn; at laſt, [3] 500 Men on Foot, and 300 on Horſeback, were made to fight, together with 20 Elephants, and an equal Number more with [4] Turrets placed on their Backs, and defended by 60 Men; then, as to the Number of Gladiators, he very much ſurpaſſed all that had been ſeen before, having, when Ædile, produced, as [5] *Plutarch* ſays, no leſs than 320 Couple of thoſe Combatants.

[8] *Prom. vit. c.* 1. [9] *Dio* 1. 39. [1] *Plut. in Pomp. Cic. l.* 7. *c.* 1. [2] *Dio l.* 43. [3] *Cæſ. c.* 39. [4] *Plin. l.* 8. *c.* 7. [5] *Plut. in Cæſ.*

Theſe

Theſe Games being advanced to ſuch a pitch of Magnificence, it became at laſt neceſſary to think on a new kind of Edifice, where they might be celebrated with more Convenience and Pleaſure than before: In [6] *Cicero*'s Time they either were performed in the Theatre or *Circus*. Yet as to Gladiators in the *Forum*, *Suetonius* mentions them in *Cæſar*'s Time, and the Beaſts to have been ſhewn in the *Circus*. 'Tis true, in [7] *Xephiline* we read, that the great Hunting which *Pompey* gave, as is already mentioned, was performed in the Theatre; but *Xephiline*, methinks, was in that Place too inaccurate an Abridger, eſpecially if he was the Cauſe that four Sentences neceſſary for the Coherence and Senſe, in which [8] *Dio* expreſſes himſelf, were cancelled, namely, That the Theatres were for Muſick, but the *Circus* appropriated for the Wild Beaſts.

The *Circus*, however, on account of its Bulk and Length, as it was adapted for the running of the *Bigæ* and *Quadrigæ*, behoved to render ſome kinds of Diverſions in one Place, but of ſmall Delight with Regard to what it did in others, the *Circus Maximus* being no leſs than three *Stadias* in Length, which were each the eighth Part

[6] *De Leggi l.* 2. *Lud. publici cum ſint cavea circoque diviſi.*
[7] *C.* 39. *Munere in Foro, in Pomp.* [8] *Dio l.* 39.

of

of a Mile, and one *Stadium* broad; I mean the *Area* alone, without the Buildings which ſurrounded it: Nay, in ſome Parts the View of the *Metæ* could not miſs to be obſtructed by the Obeliſque, Altars, Pillars, Figures, and many other Things which were placed on the *Spina*; in Effect, at the above-mentioned Games, which *Cæſar* gave, they were obliged to remove the *Metæ:* beſides, it was not convenient with regard to the Security of the Spectators. For which Reaſon we learn from *Pliny*, that at *Pompey*'s Games the People were in Danger from the Elephants, which made Efforts to get out at the *Circus*; tho' *Cæſar* afterwards, when he exhibited the ſame kinds of Sports, cauſed Ditches to be dug round it: From all which they found it convenient to build an Edifice, which in a far leſs Circuit, and without the View's being interrupted, might contain a great many Spectators, with an *Area* free and open, which at the ſame Time would keep them ſafe from being annoyed by the wild Beaſts.

It was not difficult to have an Idea of the Theatres which had been long in Uſe both in *Greece* and *Rome:* Theſe they made ſpacious, and open at the Top; with a Semicircle of Steps, on which the Spectators in great Numbers ſat: 'Twas eaſy to think of making another Semicircle of Steps, inſtead of the *Scena* which they uſed to place before it;

it; consequently contain a double Number of Spectators, and have an ample Space left in the Middle for the Combatants.

The first Time that the Effect of this was seen, was at that strange and ostentatious Entertainment made by *Caius Curio*, *Cæsar*'s Partizan, who died in the Civil Wars. This *Curio* was Tribune of the People, and the same with whom [9] *Cicero* often corresponded by Letters; he caused another *Theatre* to be built, bearing *Marcus Celius*'s Name: His Surname shews him to be of the *Scribonian* Family, and is the same *Curio Maximus* mention'd by *Livy*, who calls himself in [1] another Place *Caius Scribonius Curio Maximus*. This Man, on his Father's Death, being desirous to give an Entertainment which should exceed all the other Shews exhibited before that Time, and not being able to vie with some other *Romans* in Riches, had Recourse to Invention, and indeed the Fabrick reared by him was a very good Specimen of what the Antients with regard to Architecture and Mechanical Art could perform. In fine, he erected two large and contiguous *Theatres* of Wood, but in such a manner that the Spectators were to sit with their Backs turned to one another, and the Scenes to be placed before them both: These

[9] *Lib.* 8. *Ep.* 2. *in Theatrum Curionis.*
[1] *Lib* 27, & 33.

Theatres were not founded in the Ground, but ſlung, and ſupported in the Air; that is, they both reſted on Hinges and Pivots, and ſo could move and turn round, together with the vaſt Number of People which were placed upon them.

In the Morning Scenary Diverſions were exhibited, but after Mid-day the *Theatres* on a ſudden were made to turn round till they came in front of each other; then driving down the Flooring of the Stage, the Horns of the reſpective *Theatres* began to join one with another and ſo formed an intire Round or Circle: That is an *Amphi-Theatre*, in the *Area* of which the Gladiators came to fight. This agreeable Account with all its Circumſtances we read in [2] *Pliny*, to whom alone we are indebted for this and an Hundred other fine Deſcriptions: Tho' that Author exclaims a little againſt the Boldneſs of the Undertaking, in cauſing the whole Number of Tribes and the Governors of the World to be ſuſpended in the Air in ſuch a manner, and placed in a Machine, as if on Board two Ships; yet could he not refrain applauding the Invention, notwithſtanding the Danger in which he himſelf had been, and tho' his Life had only depended on two Hinges, appearing as if the whole *Roman* People had (like Gladiators) been to fight

[2] *Plin. l.* 36. *c.* 15.

before

before the Tomb of *Curio*'s Father: However, no Damage enſued, only on the laſt Day, ſome Parts of the Machine being weakned and out of Order, they did not truſt to its being moved round; but kept it in the Form of an *Amphi-Theatre*, as it had been the Evening before: ſo that the Scenes were brought into the Middle, and the *Athletæ* ſhewn thereon; then on a ſudden removing the Flooring, the Gladiators who had been victorious the Day before were made to appear.

But how very deſireable would it have been if *Pliny* had not been ſo ſparing of Words, and had diſtinctly deſcribed the Artifice, and the Manner how the whole immenſe Weight was ſupported ſecurely, by the Diſpoſition of the Beam, and the Caution with which the Pivots were placed, ſo as not to give Way and ſink downwards; and with what kind of Capſtans ſuch uncommon Machines were made moveable, and capable of being turned round, or if the Scenes were alſo moved round with them: or if by removing them, the Semicircle of Steps only was moved in the ſame Manner.

Thoſe learned Men who have publiſhed and given Commentaries on *Pliny*, had here a fine Opportunity of doing themſelves Honour. *Daniel Barbaro*, in his Notes on *Vitruvius*, affirms, That one *Franciſco Marcaloni*, a Perſon ready and happy in deter-

mining Queſtions of this Nature, made him (he ſays) underſtand perfectly in what Manner the two Theatres could move round; and where the Center was to be placed, and the Pivots laid: All which is ſhewn by *Barbaro* on two looſe Sheets, added to the End of his Book, and which were made to turn juſt as that ingenious Man already mentioned had conceived about the Theatres; yet ſuch ſmall Eſſays are not methinks ſufficient to explain ſo uncommon a Work, nor to reſolve the Difficulties which appear to thoſe skilled in ſuch Things: 'Tis however credible, that the Hinges had not the whole Weight reſting on them, as *Pliny* ſays; but ſerved chiefly to hold the Theatres together in the Line of Diviſion, when they turned, the greateſt Part, reſting on Wheels of Metal, and not upon one Pivot alone.

CHAP. III.

Of the Amphitheatres that were firſt built.

THE above-mentioned curious Invention was rather a kind of Prelude to the Amphitheatres than in Reality a Beginning to them; ſo that to determine when either they or the Hunting wild Beaſts in them, began, was ſuch a Difficulty, that *Lip-*

Lipsius confesses he had spent therein much Time in vain [1]: But concerning wild Beasts and Amphitheatres also, we have already seen a clear Evidence. As to the first of the Amphitheatres, a Passage in [2] *Dio* (quoted by *Lipsius*, tho' not well consider'd by him) illustrates this Point: That incomparable Historian says, That *Cæsar*, at the Dedication of his *Forum* and the Temple of *Venus* built by him, exhibited many and various kinds of Games; *having erected a hunting Theatre of Wood, called indeed an* Amphi-Theatre, *because of the Seats placed around it without Scenes.*

From these Words 'tis plain in what Manner the Thing itself and its Name began, tho' the first Authors in which I find the Word *Amphi-Theatre*, are *Strabo* and *Dionysius*, who were both in *Augustus*'s Time. [3] *Dionysius*, speaking of the Works of the two Kings the *Tarquins*, has in one Place this Expression, [4] τὸν Ἀμφιθέατρον ἱππόδρομον; and in another, σὺν Ἀμφιθέατρον: But I believe both these Passages (by the Fault of the Transcribers) are now read wrong. For as *Portico Amphitheatre* or *Amphitheatre Circus* would not sound well in the Vulgar Language, neither does it appear that those

[1] *Amph. c. 5. diu quæsivi frustra.*
[2] *Lib. 43.* Θέατρον τε κυνηγετικὸν ἱκριώσας, ὃ δὴ Ἀμφιθέατρον ἐκ τοῦ πέριξ πανταχόθεν ἕδρας ἀνευσκηνῆς ἔχειν προσερρέθη.
[3] *Str. l. 5.* [4] *D. Hal. l. 3, & 4.*

two Subſtantives hang well together in the *Greek:* So that 'tis my Opinion that all this might be remedied, by only erazing one ſingle Letter, and ſo to read it ἀμφιθέατον; *Portico* and *Circus*, *where People could ſtand and ſee from every Part.* So that a certain Shew, mentioned in the Acts of St. *Tharacus* the Martyr, was for the ſame Reaſon called ἀμφιθέαμα. The *Greek* Word for Amphitheatre might be render'd in the *Italian Circonviſorio*, viz. *a Place where one ſees all round from every Part thereof:* and as that Place we call *Auditorio*, or *Auditory*, from our *hearing* therein, what we are now deſcribing, we ſhall call *Viditory*, from ſeeing; for ſo it was called in *Latin*, *Viſorium*, by [5] *Caſſiodorus:* Hence is that Paſſage in [6] St. *John Chryſoſtom*, ἄλλο θέατρον ὧδε καὶ ἄλλο ἀκροατήριον; which in all the printed Copies is render'd, *Aliud eſt heic Theatrum aliud Auditorium:* tho' more properly they might ſay, *Aliud eſt heic Viſorium*, *&c.* Theatre in *Latin* implying both the *Viſorium* and *Auditorium.*

But to return to *Dio*; that Author continuing to give an Account, in the foremention'd Paſſage, ſays, *Cæſar*, by thoſe Dedications, and in Memory of his deceaſed Daughter, exhibited Games; wherein [7] Beaſts were ſlain, and Men ſeen to fight,

[5] *Var. l.* 41. [6] In Pſal. xlix. [7] *Lib.* 43.

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indicating the double Use to which the new Fabrick was to be applied.

In *Rome* therefore, and not in *Greece*, did the Amphitheatres begin, and may boast of the Glory in having the Founder of the *Roman* Empire for its first Inventor.

Cæsar caused his Amphitheatre to be made of Wood, as they always had been before *Pompey*'s Time, who, according to [8] *Tacitus*, made his of Stone.

But the supreme Government in the Republick devolving on *Augustus*, he, as *Victor Junius* relates, being of a fertile and jovial Disposition, was a great Admirer of Publick Shews; particularly, of seeing wild Beasts fight: So that from the *Lapis Anciranus* we learn, that [9] about 3500 of those Animals were slain at the Hunting he exhibited. And [1] *Dio* asserts, that he was the first who caused the *Hippopotamus* and *Rhinoceros* to be seen. And, as we may gather from *Suetonius*, in the Life of [2] *Vespasian*, he had a Design to build an Amphitheatre of Stone, tho' it never was put in Execution. However, in his Time, *Statilius Taurus*, afterwards Consul and Præfect of *Rome*, undertook the Affair, thinking perhaps it might be agreeable to that Emperor; an Account of which we have in [3] *Dio*, who says, that

[8] *Annal. l.* 14. [9] *Grut. p.* 233. [1] *Lib.* 51. [2] *Cap.* 10.
[3] *Lib.* 15. Θέατρον ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κυρηξετικὸν λίθινον.

before the fourth Conſulate of Auguſtus *was at an End*, Statilius Taurus, *at his own Charge, erected a Hunting Theatre of Stone, in the* Campus Martius, *and dedicated it by the Combats of armed Men:* But, according to *Strabo*, in the above-mention'd Paſſage, it would appear, that it was not properly in the *Campus Martius*, but near it. However, the Amphitheatre itſelf was but inconſiderable; tho' on account of the Novelty of the Thing, *Statilius* deſerved to have been elected one of the yearly Prætors, as a Reward from the People: tho' the Edifice itſelf was not a Work equal to his Fame, nor adapted for that which *Rome* then wanted. *Iſidorus* writes, that *Curio* was the firſt who *out of two Theatres of Wood made one compleat Amphitheatre, and how* [4] *that* Statilius Taurus *cauſed a ſmall one of Stone to be erected:* Yet we do not find this Paſſage of *Iſidorus* in any printed Book of that Author, but only cited by [5] *Guglielmo Paſtrengo*, a *Veroneſe* Writer, cotemporary with *Petrarch*, who in other Places ſhews that he had *Iſidorus*'s Books from more ample Originals than what are remaining at preſent. For my part, I argue with more Certainty about the Inconſiderableneſs of that Edifice, by conſidering how the ſolemn Games celebrated two Years after, notwithſtanding

[4] *Parvum lapideum condidit.* [5] P. 25.

they

they had been before decreed on account of the [6] Victory at *Actium*; yet the Priſoners fought within a *Stadium* of Wood, built likewiſe for that End in the *Campus Martius*. The Huntings given in the Prætorſhip of *Druſus*, and on the Birth-Day of *Auguſtus*, were in the *Circus*. Thoſe Shews by Water, given by that Emperor were in the *Circus Flaminius*, in which 36 Crocodiles were killed; and this we learn from *Dio*, who ſays, that at the Funeral Combats, particularly on the Death of *Agrippa*, the Gladiators fought Man to Man, then with equal Numbers againſt one another: The ſame Author likewiſe relates how they were performed in the [7] Encloſure of the *Comitia*, as well in Honour of *Agrippa*, as for having finiſhed and ornamented that Place; becauſe [8] *they could not exhibit them in the* Forum *on account of the Conflagration which happen'd there, where ſeveral Buildings had been deſtroyed round about it.*

From all which I think it plainly appears, that they little regarded the Amphitheatre of *Taurus*; which Conjecture I confirm, by obſerving that afterwards they even continued to build ſuch Structures of Wood: Beſides, 'tis credible that the Building itſelf was not intirely of Stone; but only perhaps the Steps, and may have had other Parts of

[6] *Dio lib.* 53, & 54. [7] Ἐν τοῖς Σεπτοῖς. [8] *Lib.* 55.

Wood;

Wood: Hence we read in *Dio*, as he is epitomized, that [9] in *Nero*'s Time it was burnt; nor even after, on the Occasion of all the many Publick Games exhibited, does any Historian mention that Theatre: Nor does it signify, that it was called *Lapideus*, or a *Stone-Work* by *Dio*; for that Historian called *Trajan*'s Bridge, over the *Danube*, a Stone Work also, tho' the Piers of it were only of Stone, and the upper Part Wood, as appears from *Trajan*'s Pillar, and even as it may be gathered from the Context of *Dio* himself. In fine, we may observe that *Vitruvius*, in his long Account of the Structure of Theatres, mentions nothing about Amphitheatres; from which we may very well argue, that no considerable or fixed Amphitheatre had as yet been seen; yet that his Books were published after *Taurus*'s Amphitheatre was erected, may be fairly conjectured from the Preface, wherein he speaks with *Augustus* as already fixed in the Possession of the Government, and as having turned his Thoughts to ornament *Rome* with fine Buildings. Moreover, that in this Emperor's Reign, sundry Amphitheatres of Wood were to be seen in *Rome*, may be gathered from what *Augustus* himself is reported to have said in the [1] *Lapis Ancyranus*, namely, that he had exhibited several magnificent

[9] *P.* 709. *& Leuncl.* τὸ Θέατρον τὸ Ταύρε ἐκαύθη. *P.* 709. *Xiph.* γέφυραν λιθίνην. [1] *Grut. p.* 232. *in Amphitheatris.*

Games,

Games, *both in the Circus, the Forum, and Amphitheatres.*

After the Time of *Auguſtus*, [2] *Caligula* began another Amphitheatre, but never finiſhed it: As to gladiatory Combats, and the like, *Suetonius* writes how that Emperor made then uſe of the *Septa*, *viz.* the Incloſure of the *Comitia*, and ſometimes of *Statilius Taurus*'s Amphitheatre; but *Dio* affirms, and agrees much better with the other Accounts, that *Caligula* had his Games performed only in the *Septa*, except ſometimes in Places which he encompaſſed with Paliſades: for which End he cauſed large Buildings to be thrown down, in order to make Openings whenever he had a mind, [3] becauſe he did not at all value the Amphitheatre of *Taurus*.

Claudius delighted greatly in Publick Games, the moſt ſolemn Gladiatory One he had performed in the *Septa*; nay, ſome modern Writers aſſert, that out of the *Septa* he built an Amphitheatre, for which they cite [4] *Suetonius:* Tho' that Author, in *Caligula*'s Life, ſays otherwiſe, and that he undertook two Works, *viz.* an *Aqueduct*, and an *Amphitheatre* in the *Septa*; one of which Works *Claudius* finiſhed, but not the other: And in the ſame Life of *Claudius* he affirms, that what he did finiſh was the *Aqueduct*;

[2] *Cal. c.* 21, & 18. [3] *L.* 59. Το γὰρ τῆ ταύρε Θέατρον ὑπερεφρόνησε. [4] *Suet. Cl.* 21.

con-

conſequently the *Amphitheatre* had been laid aſide. *Nero,* [6] who alſo liked Publick Shews, built a new Amphitheatre of Wood for that Purpoſe in the *Campus Martius*, and finiſhed it within a Year. That it was well founded, of a great Size, and firmly ſupported by large Beams, we learn from [7] *Tacitus*. *Pliny* likewiſe ſays, [8] it had a Beam of the *Larix*-Tree, about 120 Foot in Length, and two in Breadth, running equal from one End to the other; which, together with another, were carried to *Rome*, by *Tiberius*'s Order, from *Rhætia*, our Neighbouring Country: When that Emperor cauſed the Bridge at the *Naumachia* to be rebuilt, and by him ſhewn for a Wonder, and preſerved a long Time after as a Rarity.

After the Example of *Rome*, 'twas but a ſhort Time till other Cities began likewiſe to build Amphitheatres; ſo that in the ſame Reign of *Tiberius* one *Attilius* built a large one near *Fidena*, which Town, as [9] *Dionyſius* ſays, was about five Miles from *Rome:* but the Foundation thereof having not been carried thro' the whole Fabrick, and the Frame of the Wood-work not ſecurely linked together, it therefore happened at the Celebration of one of their Games that the Weight of the Spectators bore it down all of a ſud-

[6] *Ner. c.* 12. *Amphitheatro ligneo intra anni ſpatium fabricato.* [7] *Ann. l.* 13. *laudandis fundamentis & trabibus, &c.*
[8] *Pl. l.* 16. *c.* 39, *&* 40. [9] *Dion. Hal. l.* 2.

den,

den, which, as [1] *Suetonius* says, occasioned the Death of above twenty-thousand Persons; nay, [2] *Tacitus* asserts, that between Dead and Wounded there were above fifty-thousand.

Another very beautiful Amphitheatre was built without the Walls of [3] *Placentia*, and, as the same [3] Author reports, the Largest of any in *Italy*; so that there were many others: That this was built of Wood we may safely conclude, because in the Time of the Civil Wars between *Vitellius* and *Otho*, when a tumultuary Assault was made on that City, by the Torches and Fire thrown from the two Parties against one another, it was set on fire, blazed out in Flames, and was reduced to Ashes; They suspected that it had been done maliciously by some of the neighbouring Colonies, because of the Envy they had against one another.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Amphitheatre of TITUS, *called the* Colosseum, *not on account of* NERO's Colossus.

VESPASIAN at last undertook to erect his Amphitheatre of Stone, reckoned the Prodigy of all the antient Buildings, of which even the mere Shell or Crust re-

[1] *Ti. c.* 42. [2] *Ann. l.* 4. [3] *Hist. l.* 2.

maining

maining to this Day, begets Wonder, having ſurely been the moſt ſuperb, and beſt underſtood Edifice in the World: Nor did [1] *Martial*, without Reaſon aſſert, that the Pyramids and *Mauſoleums* ought to yield to it, and Fame to ſpeak of it alone above all the others.

[2] *Caſſiodorus* aſſerts, That the Expence thereof was ſufficient to have built a capital City; and *Veſpaſian* knowing it would appear auguſt, determin'd it ſhould be placed in the Center of *Rome*, tho' in his own Reign it was neither finiſhed, nor the Work very much advanced: And yet, that it was perfected in his Time, one (who gives Faith to the Medals of that Emperor handed about) ought to believe, ſince on theſe Medals is this *Amphitheatre* repreſented fine and entire; but I own all of this Kind, which I ever ſaw, are ſpurious, nor indeed are any but falſe Coins of it to be ſeen. *Mezzabarba*, on the Credit of others, has regiſter'd one, with a third Conſulate upon it, but any one may ſee how incongruous that is: Nay, the ſame Author, on the Faith of *Occo*, gave a Place to another more eſteemed with the eighth Conſulate upon it, which by *Lipſius* was receiv'd as genuine; which Piece of Impoſture I have in my own Collection, and as finely wrought as is poſ-

[1] *Ep.* 1. [2] *Var. lib.* 4, 42. *divitiarum profuſo flumine cogitavit, Ædificium fieri, unde caput urbium potuiſſet.*

ſible,

ſible, but it happens that the eighth Conſulate of *Veſpaſian* coincides with the ſixth of *Titus*, in which Year, or the next following *Pliny* finiſh'd his Book, as we may plainly learn from the Dedication thereof to *Titus*, where he ſtiles him the ſixth Time Conſul: Now who can poſſibly believe, if this Building had then been finiſhed, or near compleated, that That [3] Author would not have mention'd it, conſidering how very partial he was to *Veſpaſian*'s Glory, eſpecially in treating of the famous Buildings of *Rome*; among the firſt of which he only places the Temple of Peace, made by *Veſpaſian*. Some, I own, give for Anſwer, that we ought to believe the Medal, whereon is the Repreſentation of the Amphitheatre, to have been ſtruck after *Veſpaſian*'s Death, in Memory of his having begun it; but in ſuch a Caſe, by the Inſcription, he would be ſtiled *Divus*, not Conſul; however, That this Amphitheatre was for the moſt Part built in the Reign of *Titus*, may be gathered from *Eutropius*, the *Chronica* of St. *Jerome*, St. *Proſperus*, and *Caſſiodorus*, who abſolutely affirm, that it was erected by him; the ſame may alſo be learned from the Compend of *Dio*, who mentions it not as having been built in *Veſpaſian*'s Time, but in that of *Titus*; and ſays, That

[3] *Plin. l. 36. c. 15.*

the

the former having no Delight in gladiatory Combats, exhibited the Hunting of wild Beasts in the Theatres; but *Xiphiline* confounding the Names of those Things one with another, it is to be understood in the *Circi*; in this Manner does *Martial* exalt *Titus*. [4] *Victor*, in the Lives of the *Cæsars*, says, That this vast Building was begun in *Vespasian*'s Time, but finished by *Titus*, and shews that the latter died a little after it had been perfected. *Suetonius* affirms the same, and that this happened after the publick Games were ended, meaning those performed at the Dedication of the Amphitheatre: Hence we may conclude, that he had carried on the Work all the Time his Government lasted. It was dedicated by *Titus* in his own, and not in his Father's Name; at which Solemnity, *Eutropius* says, 5000 wild Beasts were kill'd. *Dio* makes the Number 9000, and to them adds 4 Elephants, and that likewise naval Combats were given, [5] having *on a sudden brought Water into the Amphitheatre.* In these at first were Animals, afterwards a Number of Ships made to fight, as if they had belonged to the *Corinthians* and *Corcyrians*; the antient War between which People is described by *Thucydides:* And if we may believe *Martial*, [6] People from every Part of

[4] *Amphitheatri tanta vis, &c. perfecto opere interiit.*
[5] *Lib.* 66. ὕδατος ἐξαίφνης πληρώσας. [6] *Ep.* 3.

the

the known World flock'd to *Rome* to see those Games. This stupendous Pile is by an immemorial Tradition called the *Coliseo* at *Rome*; in *Latin* it is found wrote *Coliseum* and *Colosseum*: All modern Writers have for a long Time unanimously agreed, That this Amphitheatre was so named, because, as they say, the *Colossus* of *Nero* stood at a little Distance from it; but I shall here propose a few Things to be considered on this Head, and then let People judge, if it ought to have that Denomination. [1] The *Colossus* of *Nero*, which was an hundred and twenty Foot high, and the Work of [2] *Zenodorus*, was plac'd in the *Vestibul* of his *Domus Aurea*, or House of Gold; we have also an Epigram in [3] *Martial*, where *Titus* is greatly prais'd for having converted that large Spot of Ground in *Rome* (which had been fill'd with *Nero*'s House) to publick Use, and for having restored it to the Community, in which we see, that where the *Atrium*, or Entry to the House had been, there did *Titus* make a Street, at a little Distance from which there was a *Colossus*: And we plainly perceive that this venerable Structure was not built where the *Atrium* or *Vestibul* stood, but where the [4] Fish-ponds had been made, which of Course were at a good Distance from the *Vestibul*. Near the

[1] *Su. Ner. c.* 18. [2] *Plin. l.* 34. *c.* 7. [3] *Ep.* 2.
[4] *Stagna Neronis erant.*

Amphitheatre, where formerly Gardens and Walks had been, he made *Thermæ*, or Hot-baths, called by *Martial*, *Velocia Munera*, quick Gratuities; the Reaſon of this Appellation we learn from [8] *Suetonius*, namely, that they were made in Haſte. Some other Conſiderations ſeem to convince, that the *Coloſſus* of *Nero* ſtood at no ſmall Diſtance from the Amphitheatre, and that the ſaid huge Statue was afterwards removed out of its Place, and tranſported elſewhere by *Hadrian*; according to *Spartianus*, it was then dedicated to the Sun; however, we know from [9] *Pliny*, that this had been taken away immediately after *Nero*'s own Time, on Account of his Wickedneſs. Yet, as *Suetonius* ſays, when *Veſpaſian* had cauſed it to be again ſet up, *Commodus* altered it, having taken off the Head, and placed his own thereon. Now [1] *Spartian* affirms, that in the Situation where the *Coloſſus* had ſtood, the Temple of the Goddeſs *Roma* was placed, which does not appear to have been cloſe to the Amphitheatre, but undoubtedly at a good Diſtance from it; for *Victor* mentions it as ſituated in a very different Part of the Town. The ſame Author likewiſe places a *Coloſſus*, diſtinguiſhed from the others, and of equal Size, in a Situation very diſtant from the Amphitheatre. And

[8] *In T. c. 7.* [9] *Plin. l. 34. cap. 7. Damnatis ſcelcribus illius principiis.* [1] *De eo loco in quo nunc Templum urbis eſt.*

indeed,

indeed, as to that of which we now ſpeak, it might be well diſtinguiſhed from the others, as having ſeven Rays projecting from the Head, which ſhews it ſacred to the Sun. From all which it appears, that the Amphitheatre could not take its Name from the *Coloſſus*, as being neither near it, nor belonging to it any way whatſoever. And indeed, had a *Coloſſus* been placed near ſo vaſt and awful an Edifice, inſtead of taking its Name from its being a Statue, 'tis more credible that the Statue itſelf took its Denomination from the Building; of this we have a clear Example in [2] *Pliny*, who ſays, that a *Coloſſus* of *Jupiter* as large as a Tower, placed by *Claudius* in the *Campus Martius*, as being near the Theatre of *Pompey*, was called the *Pompeian Coloſſus*.

But, ſhould it be asked from whence I think the Origin of the foreſaid Denomination came, I anſwer, from the Compariſon of this with other Amphitheatres, it appearing as much ſuperior in Bulk to them, as a *Coloſſus* does among other Statues, and from the Cuſtom that People had of calling every thing by that Name, which exceeded others in Greatneſs. This Thought occurr'd to me long ago, by reading in *Suetonius*, that in the Time of *Caligula*, *Eſius Proculus*, *on*

[2] *Lib.* 34. *cap.* 7. *Vocatur Pompeianus a vicinitate Theatri.*

account of the [3] *vaſt Size and fine Shape of his Body* was called *Coloſſeros*, or *Coloſſeo*, as it ought to be wrote in that Place. I likewiſe obſerved in the Epiſtles of [4] *Caſſiodorus*, that a certain great Perſon was called by the Name of *Coloſſeus* (or like a *Coloſſus*) on account of his great Strength. Beſides, [5] *Vitruvius* uſes the Expreſſion, in ſpeaking of the greater Kinds of Weights, he terms them Weights more *Coloſſean*; which ſhews that this Word was uſed to expreſs a Thing of a large Size; juſt as in *Greek*, ſometimes they make uſe of the Names of a Horſe and an Ox, in compounding Words. Afterwards in running over the Hiſtory of [6] *Erchempertus* the Monk, in *Camillo Peregrini*'s Edition of that Author, I was ſure of the whole, where, in the ſecond *Tome*, concerning the *Italian* Affairs, he twice calls the Amphitheatre of *Capua*, *Coloſſo* (which perhaps ought to be read *Coloſſeum*) and certain it is, that the *Coloſſus* of *Nero* had never been ſet up there. And indeed it appears, that Amphitheatres had that Name given them, on account of their marvellous Height. *Calphurnius*, in his [7] Eclogues, ſpeaking of the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, confirms this, and ſays,

[3] *Cal. c.* 35. *ob egregiam Corporis Amplitudinem, & Speciem Coloſſeros dictus.* [4] *Var. lib.* 3. *Ep.* 3. *Nomine viribuſque Præpotenti.* [5] *Lib.* 10. *c.* 4. Κολοσσικώτερα *onera.* [6] *Cap.* 44. *lib.* 73. *qui in Coloſſo morabantur.* [7] *Eclog.* 7.

that

that it ſurmounted the Top of the *Tarpeian* Rock in Height, appearing to reach up to the Heavens. So far had I wrote ſome Months ago, when from *Capua* I receiv'd the Book lately publiſhed by the Canon *Alleſſio Mazochio*, concerning the Amphitheatre at that Place, and which, in a genteel Manner, was ſent me by the moſt worthy Magiſtrates there, and from their noble Chief *Giuſeppe di Capua Capece*. This Book contains ſo much Learning, and is ſo very elegant, that thoſe exalted Minds which delight in ſeeing the high Pitch to which Letters are arrived at this time in *Italy*, ought to rejoice; but, as to the Name *Coloſſèo*, given to the *Roman* Amphitheatre, I find that Author is poſitively of the ſame Opinion, and proves it by Paſſages in *Vitruvius* and *Erchempertus*, but moſt eſpecially by that Interpretation given of the Word Κολοσσια, by *Heſychius*; all which confirm'd me in the foreſaid Opinion.

And yet it may be not altogether incredible, but that the Amphitheatre, by ſome Accident or other, might, as is commonly believed, have taken its Denomination from a *Coloſſus*: However, I ſhall only add, that if ever it had been ſo, it moſt certainly was not from that of *Nero*, but rather from the *Coloſſus* of *Titus*. We have a kind of Evidence of this before us in the two Medals in Plate I. the firſt of which

ſhews a Figure with an Olive Branch in its Hand, ſitting in the Curule Chair, placed upon military Trophies, by which probably is repreſented the *Coloſſus* of *Titus*. Another exceedingly like that we ſee likewiſe ſitting in the Curule Seat, on a Medal ſtruck in Honour of *Tiberius*, with this Legend, *Civitatibus Aſiæ reſtitutis*, where the Face of *Tiberius* is excellently repreſented, which Medal we find afterwards ſtruck by an excellent and ingenious Artificer, whereon I believe a Statue is manifeſtly repreſented, as having been erected on Account of that Emperor's having re-edified the Cities of *Aſia* which had been ruin'd by an Earthquake. That this Statue was of the Nature of a *Coloſſus* we may fairly conjecture, from a Marble Baſe of another *Coloſſus* like it, found at *Pozzuolo* in the Year 1693, with the Repreſentation of thoſe *Aſiatick* Cities engraven round it, with Inſcriptions thereon, and publiſhed by *Bulifone* and *Fabretti*; on this Affair *Lawrence Gronovius* wrote a Book, ſo that I think we need not doubt, but that the Statue reſembling *Titus* was alſo a *Coloſſus*. It was convenient for the Artificers to make thoſe *Coloſſus*'s in a ſitting Poſture, becauſe in that Manner they could give greater Firmneſs to the Figure [8]. *Pliny* mentions one of

[8] *Lib.* 36. *cap.* 5. *Mars etiamnum Sedens Coloſſeus.*

Mars

Mars ſitting. And indeed by ſuch a Diſcovery as this, we may well judge the Meaning of ſitting Figures on Medals: There is another like this with a Branch in its Hand, having alſo Enſigns of Divinity, a radiated Crown, a Spear, or rather Scepter, with this Legend, *Divus Auguſtus Veſpaſianus*; by which we ſee it repreſents a Statue of that Emperor, as erected by Decree of the Senate, for the Reverſe has nothing elſe in the middle but S. C. That this was of the Nature of a *Coloſſus* we may probably conjecture, if we conſider thoſe who ordered the making of it, and the Perſon for whom it was made. In that common Medal of *Auguſtus*, whereon is the ſame kind of Figure, like that of *Titus* ſitting in the Curule Chair, and an Olive Branch in its Hand, where it is perfectly well preſerved, we may plainly ſee *Auguſtus*'s Face. Hence 'tis clear, that a Statue of him ſeems to have been conſecrated, after his Death, to his Memory. *Conſenſu Senatus & Equeſtris Ordinis, Populique Romani.* In this Manner, [9] as *Dio* ſays, were they erected while that Emperor was alive, every one contributing thereunto. *Martial* calls the *Coloſſus* of *Domitianus Statius*, that of *Auguſtus*; and *Publius Victor* affirms, that there were above 88 *Coloſſus*'s in *Rome*

[9] *Lib.* 54.

of Marble and Metal, and ſuch were for the moſt Part the ſolemn Statues of the Emperors. *Caligula* ordered that ſuch a Statue, repreſenting him, ſhould be plac'd in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and alſo in *Jamnia*, another City of *Judea*, as *Philo* ſays: And *Hadrian* commanded, that Statues of the *Coloſſean* kind ſhould be erected for *Ælius Verus*, every where.

That ſuch was the Statue of *Titus* repreſented on the other Side, where the Amphitheatre was placed; and that it was both remarkable and ſingular, and had a particular Affinity with the Amphitheatre, ſeems to be evinced by its being twice repreſented upon two different Medals, the one ſtruck while he was alive, which till now had not been ſeen, the other after he was dead, as appears from that in the foregoing Plate, and both jointly repreſented with the Amphitheatre: But ſtill to confirm what I have ſaid on this Head, I ſhall here produce one very material Paſſage from *Dio*. We read in the [1] Compendium of that Author, that in *Veſpaſian*'s Time, a *Coloſſus* of 100 Foot in Height was erected in the *Via Sacra*, on which preciſely the Amphitheatre ſtood, *which ſome ſaid was the Effigies* of Nero, *others, that of* Titus. So that we find there was a Remembrance of a *Coloſſus*

[1] *In Veſp.* καὶ τὸ εἴδωλον οἱ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος οἱ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Τίτου ἔχειν.

of

of *Titus* there; and indeed the Thing is moſt likely, becauſe it had been erected by *Veſpaſian*: And yet, notwithſtanding all theſe Arguments, I ſtill eſteem my firſt Opinion concerning the Name *Coloſſeum*, as more probable, and better founded in Reaſon than the other.

CHAP. V.

Of the repairing the AMPHITHEATRE, *and the Medals relating thereunto.*

I Am perſuaded that *Domitian* gave ſome finiſhing Stroke to the Amphitheatre; and though Hiſtorians do not mention it, yet, I judge my Conjecture is right, from that moſt rare Medal, in the Collection of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, with the Head of that Emperor on the one Side, and the Amphitheatre on the Reverſe, and ſtruck in the Time of his ſeventh Conſulate, namely, in the firſt Year after his Brother's Death. Within this Amphitheatre he exhibited ſeveral odd Shews, ſuch as naval Fights, wild Beaſts, and gladiatory Combats in the Night-time with Lights; and indeed not only Combats of Men, but of Women alſo; which laſt Cuſtom was afterwards renewed, but at laſt prohibited in the Time of [1] *Severus*. As to the wonder-

[1] *Xiph. in Sever.*

ful

ful Shews exhibited by *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Marcus Commodus*, the *Gordians*, *Probus*, and others; the Authors in the *Hiſtoria Auguſta* ſpeak of them, 'tis true, yet we are not always ſtrictly bound in Conſcience to believe ſome Paſſages therein, I mean with regard to the Number of Men and Beaſts, and the rather, becauſe [2] *Dio* gives us a very wholeſome Caution to the contrary, becauſe flattering Fame is, he ſays, generally in the magnifying Side, the Cuſtom then in uſe being to aggrandize the Relations they give of Things. *Septimius Severus*, for the firſt Time, expoſed the *Crocuta*, an *Indian* Animal, to publick View, and in the Area of the Amphitheatre built a Receptacle for thoſe Animals in Form of a Ship, which being thrown down all of a ſudden, four Hundred wild Beaſts of all Kinds came out. I believe in *Xiphiline* it ought to be read forty, becauſe in the Sequel it is mention'd, that in all, a Hundred in a Day were kill'd; ſo we cannot ſuppoſe four Hundred brought out in one ſingle Day. This Ship is repreſented on a Medal of *Severus*, referr'd to by *Mezzabarba*.

But in treating of theſe repaired Amphitheatres, the firſt was that of *Antoninus Pius*, mentioned by *Capitolinus*. The Author of

[2] *Lib.* 43. πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὅπῃ τὸ μεῖζον κομπεῖται.

the

the little Book relating to this Affair, prefix'd to *Gronovius*'s *Greek* Antiquities, was, methinks, too liberal to that Emperor, when he attributed the Fabrick of the *Coloſſeum* to him; nay, he likewiſe affirms, that *Terence* had one of his Comedies recited in the Amphitheatre. Next follows the Amphitheatre mentioned by *Lampridius*, and repaired by *Heliogabalus*, after it had been burnt, * that is, after the great Damage it ſuſtain'd by the Thunder that fell upon it, and which had greatly deform'd it in the Beginning of *Macrinus*'s Government, as we learn from the Fragments in *Dio*: And yet perhaps this Repairing of it was not perfected by *Heliogabalus*, but in his Succeſſor's Time, *Alexander Severus*, ſince we have a Medal of the latter with the Amphitheatre repreſented thereon. *Capitolinus* in Effect ſays, that he reſtored ſeveral Fabricks built by the Princes his Predeceſſors: And this ſame *Lampridius* avers, that the Emperor appropriated the Tax laid on the Whores, as a Fund for re-edifying all the publick Buildings for Shews, perhaps, becauſe theſe Harlots were uſed to live in or about ſuch Places. The ſame [3] Author ſays, that after the two *Gordians* were ſlain, the Conſul, in the Time of theſe Revolutions, for having mentioned Affairs of ſmall Con-

* *Poſt exuſtionem.* [3] *In Max. & Balb.*

ſequence,

ſequence, was reproved by him who ſpoke firſt in the Senate: Among the Number of which Things was not that *de Edificatione*, the Building only, which Paſſage [4] *Lipſius* and [5] *Spanheim* quote, and which would bear a different Meaning, but *de exædificatione*, the finiſhing of the Amphitheatre. It is, however, moſt credible, that the giving the finiſhing Stroke, in re-edifying the Amphitheatre, was afterwards, in the Time of *Gordianus Pius*, as appears by that famous Medalion of him, with the Amphitheatre repreſented thereon: And notwithſtanding the Word *Munificentia* in the Legend ſeems to allude to the Games exhibited, yet, the Analogy which the other Medals have with ſuch an Edifice, ſhews that we ought rather to underſtand it in the Manner I have mentioned, more eſpecially ſince *Capitolinus*, in the Life of *Gordian*, gives no Account of publick Games celebrated by him, but of ſome prepared for that End, where were a thouſand Couple of Gladiators, and a great Number of ſtrange Beaſts; all which *Philip* afterwards made uſe of in the *Ludi ſeculares*, or ſecular Games.

St. *Jerome*, in *Euſebius*'s *Chronica*, beſides the above-mentioned Conflagration of the Amphitheatre, ſpeaks of another which happened in the Time of *Decius*, about

[4] *Amph. cap. 6.* [5] *Pr. Num. Dif. 3. c. 7.*

the

the re-edifying which I find no Mention in Authors. What that was which did burn on ſuch Occaſions, and why the Amphitheatre required to be ſo frequently repaired, we ſhall ſhew in another Place. The laſt Record we have of ſuch a Kind of Damage ſuſtain'd, is that mention'd in one of [6] *Conſtantine*'s Laws, in the Year 321; when *Maximus*, the Prefect of *Rome*, declared that the Amphitheatre had been ſtruck from Heaven, *viz.* with a Thunder-bolt, of which Notice was given upon Account of the Ominouſneſs believed to be in Thunder, and the Neceſſity of having the Omen interpreted. Of what regards the reſtoring or re-edifying theſe Fabricks, we might have the laſt Mention made in a Stone which Monſignor *Ciampini* is ſaid to have had in *Rome*; where it is related, how *Theodorick* cuſed the *Coloſſeum* to be repaired. 'Tis not, I own, unlikely, but that may have happen'd, conſidering what a particular Care that Emperor took, in preſerving the fine Buildings at *Rome*, as we find in the *Variæ* of *Caſſiodorus*: But Monſignor *Bianchini* (who was moſt intimate with the aforeſaid Prelate, and who, after his Death, took a great deal of Pains to put his Curioſities in order, to add them to that ineſtimable *Muſæum* of Cardinal *Alexander Albani*)

[6] *Cod. Th. de Pagan. l.* 1. *de tactu Amphitheatri.*

aſſures

assures me, that there never was such a Stone in *Ciampini*'s Collection. In one of *Fabretti*'s [7] Inscriptions are these Words, *Villicus Amphitheatri*, an Office never before known, and which signify'd the Person who had the Care of the Amphitheatre given him. In [8] *Cassiodorus*'s Time we find the same Word *Villicus* made use of for a Defender and Keeper.

The judicious Reader may have observed, that very much is learned by Medals in this Affair, and indeed in the Sequel he'll still find their Use: Those Authors who have treated on the Subject, ought to have begun with this; and yet *Panvinius*, who design'd to write thereon, was the only Person that ever thought of this Method, and who, in his *Circensian* Games, has not only given us the Medals, with the *Circus* upon them, but those likewise of *Titus*, *Domitian*, and *Alexander Severus*, with the Amphitheatre represented there; for the Medal of *Gordianus* had not been published at that time.

The forementioned Author has not given us any Medal of *Vespasian*, struck when that Emperor was alive, but one after he had been deified; and 'tis not unlikely, tho' at present not to be seen: For which Reason, since we have nothing but the Re-

[7] *Insc. p.* 3. [8] *Var. lib.* 5. 39.

mains

mains of the Amphitheatre, I have thought it convenient, firſt to ſhew the Figure of the Structure as it was when entire, and then to exhibit all the Medals whereon it is found engraven, that ſo by the Hiſtory we may have Light therein. The firſt which appears in the foregoing Plate annexed, has, till now, not been ſeen nor publiſhed; that of *Divus Titus* is preſerved in a great Number of Collections, but coined while the Emperor himſelf was alive, and in the Time of his laſt Conſulate, namely, the eighth. It is of a more than common Size, inſomuch that it might be reckoned a Medalion, if its Bulk was altogether ſufficient, but in Effect it is a Degree ſmaller than ſome of the largeſt Medals; as to its being genuine, that I think is out of doubt, and may be an Unic, for what we know as yet: 'Tis in the Poſſeſſion of the noble *Chriſtin Martinelli* at *Venice*, to whoſe Bounty the Learned are greatly indebted. The ſecond Medal of *Titus*, notwithſtanding 'tis very rare, yet ſtill is leſs curious than the others, tho' the Original thereof, as is here repreſented, and in my own Collection, is exceedingly rare, as being ſomewhat larger than the others, and of *Lead*. A certain Perſon, who has the greateſt Skill in theſe Things of any in this Age, in the Eſtimate he made of a Cabinet of Medals (not with Deſign to make a Purchaſe of them,

them, but meerly for the Information of the Proprietor) valued this one as being much more curious and rare than any other found of a different Metal. The firſt and infallible Proof of its being genuine, is its Lightneſs, in Compariſon with the like Quantity of modern Lead; the ſecond, is the inimitable Ruſt thereon; to this Ruſt we ought chiefly to attribute its Conſervation, a thing uncommon in Lead really antique: And beſides, becauſe the Medal is not quite ſo light as others are. I have a *Mithridates* of Lead incredibly light; but as to that of which we are ſpeaking, 'tis plain, that the Evaporation thereof has partly been hindered by the Ruſt. The other three Medals are in the *Muſæum* of the great Duke, where ſurely there is the moſt elegant and beſt choſen Collection that is to be ſeen any where; and in which likewiſe is the ſecond Medal we mentioned of *Titus*, but not that of *Veſpaſian*, nor others, of which they boaſt.

Seignor *Baſtiano Bianchi*, the Keeper of that Treaſure, has greatly aſſiſted our Deſign, and is a Perſon no leſs to be commended for Knowledge than Civility. Some People, I doubt not, will wonder why I have exhibited theſe Medals only, and not others, ſo frequently to be ſeen in Books, for no leſs than eleven of the like kind has *Mezzabarba* publiſhed: But

But 'tis moſt undoubtedly certain, that except thoſe five already mentioned, 'tis very difficult to find the Amphitheatre on any Medal really genuine, ſince hitherto the others, by which this Matter is pretended to be illuſtrated, are either Counterfeits, or have been miſtaken by People, who pretend to ſee Amphitheatres where in reality there are none. I have obſerved in ſome Authors, who go into the other extreme, that becauſe of the many ſpurious Coins handed about, ſome of which are even in famous Collections, they doubt of the whole, and believe that the Amphitheatre is not all to be ſeen upon any antique Coin. But [1] *Rafaele di Volterra* [who lived in an Age before this abominable Practice of falſifying Medals began] affirm'd, that he had ſeen the Repreſentation of the Amphitheatre on ſeveral Antique Coins; and indeed theſe exhibited here, have paſt the Cenſure of the greateſt Critiques in Medals of any we know. The four already mentioned, at *Florence*, have been approved and regiſtred by *Vaillant* as genuine. The ſecond is reckon'd pretty good, the third inconteſtable, on account of the remarkable Ruſt on the Surface, which is almoſt of a black Colour; of imitating this perfectly, the Falſifyers have not as yet found out the Secret. The other two demonſtrate, that Arts were at that time in decay: in them is the Piazza, or open Place ſeen, and

[1] *Comm. urb. l. 6.*

a Man in the Attitude of fighting with a wild Beaſt. In the other a Bull, together with a certain kind of Animal, with a Man on his back, which according to my Draught, is not an Elephant, as ſome have expreſſed it. The laſt is a Medalion, publiſhed from the ſame Original, and celebrated by [9] *Spanheim.* One larger, and better preſerved, is ſaid to be in the famous Treaſure of Cardinal *Alexander Albani,* who, on account of the noble Ambition he has to encourage every kind of Learning, did moſt courteouſly ſend me a Drawing thereof; but I cannot enrich theſe Sheets with it, by reaſon that the Paſſes being ſhut up on account of the fear of Contagion, Copies of the ſaid Drawing have more than once miſcarried. The Medal of *Alexander Severus* has two Figures repreſented on it, in the Action of going into the Amphitheatre, one third part of their Body appearing on the Outſide of the Entry, ſeeming to guard it, and this part of it is a little defaced by Age; yet it gives us to underſtand, that the Figure repreſents a *Hercules.* And indeed by the *Coloſſus* on the Medalion, it does in effect appear to be that God with a Club in his hand, tho' not very perfectly repreſented in the engraving.

Another Medalion of *Gordian* deſcribed by *Bonarotti,* ſhews a *Circus* in *Heraclea* of *Pontus,* in which is a Statue of *Hercu-*

[9] *Diſſ.* 3. *les.*

les. I have called ours a *Coloſſus*, for ſo it appears; but the indifferent Artifice ſhewn in thoſe two laſt mentioned Coins, hinders us from making any probable Conjectures about them: yet we cannot paſs over in ſilence, the Edifice which appears upon one Side of the firſt, and the *Meta* on the other. *Volterrano* took them for two Fountains, but indeed we cannot eſtabliſh any thing as a Truth in theſe Matters. The one has been by the Antiquaries commonly referred to, as the *Meta Sudans*, which Place they call that Fragment of a Wall remaining near the Amphitheatre at *Rome*, where they believe there was a Fountain. The Figure ſeen on the Medal we are now deſcribing, is certainly very like that on the Reverſe of a Coin of *Titus* with the eighth Conſulate; and yet I cannot conclude this for certain, more eſpecially ſince *Victor* and *Rufus* place the *Meta Sudans* in a Situation remote from the Amphitheatre. We muſt add, that in the *Chronica* of *Caſſiodorus*, the *Meta Sudans* is reckoned among the principal and moſt famous Edifices at *Rome:* By this it appears to have been ſomething very conſiderable; being likewiſe enumerated among thoſe Fabricks built or reſtored in the ninth Conſulate of *Domitian*: and if erected then, 'tis certain it could not have been repreſented as a Medal of *Titus*. And if repaired, we ought not, I think, to believe it was built ſo very ſoon after.

Boſius and *Arringhi* cite the written Acts of St. *Reſtitutus*, in which the *Meta Sudans* is mentioned, without telling where it ſtood. Sometimes they find this Medal with a Figure at the Top of the Pillar inſtead of a Lilly. But with regard to Pillars placed over it, like a double Portico which are ſeen on the Reverſe of the Medal, nothing has as yet been ſaid on that Head. The vulgar Prejudice which People have, that the Medal has two ſeparate Buildings repreſented upon it, and which ſometimes ſeem really ſo, afforded me ſeveral Conjectures about them. Firſt, I thought the Structure very much reſembled the *Baſilicæ*, like that of *Paulus Æmilius* which we have in the Conſular Medals, and makes it evident, that thoſe were publick and ſumptuous Portico's, where the Citizens met to confer about Affairs; and yet I had a Suſpicion, that rather People of the greateſt Note, when the Sun was moſt ſcorching, might perhaps have retired ſometimes to thoſe Places of the Amphitheatre, and ordered ſome Couples of *Gladiators* to fight there, which Conjecture ſeem'd to allude to a Paſſage in [1] *Dio*, who ſays, that when the Sun's Heat was moſt intolerable, inſtead of the Theatre they made uſe of the *Diribitorium*. This was an ample and covered Place which ſerved for the Rendezvous of the Soldiers. [2] *Var-*

[1] *Lib. 59.* [2] *P. R. lib. 3. c. 2.*

ro

ro ſays, the Edifice of the *Villa Publica* ſerved for the ſame uſe. But this *Villa Publica* is repreſented on the Coins of the *Didian* Family, and is exactly like the Edifice we find near the Amphitheatre. Then I thought, that if this covered Place ſerved for a Retreat to thoſe who had a mind to reſt themſelves, after having ſtood ſo long in the Amphitheatre, and then to return ſoon to their Places; ſo did I imagine that it might alſo then have ſerved for People to refreſh themſelves a little, ſince it was eſteem'd indecent even to be ſeen to drink at thoſe publick Games: and this I learn from a Paſſage in [3] *Quintilian*, where ſpeaking of the *Roman* Jeſts, he mentions a ſmart Reproof which *Auguſtus* ſent to one whom he perceived drinking in the Amphitheatre, giving him to underſtand, that when he had a mind to dine, he would chuſe to go home to his own Houſe; and *Lampridius* relates it as a piece of great Imprudence in *Commodus*, that he drank publickly in the Theatres and Amphitheatres. I likewiſe imagined, that I might conceive the Fabrick we are mentioning to have been one of thoſe Buildings placed on the publick Street near the *Coloſſeum*, for the Uſe of the Spectators, as [4] *Martial* ſays. Or that I might conſider it as an *Apodyterium* or *Spoliarium*, not in the Senſe of Mortality, but where the Actors put off

[3] *Lib. 6.* [4] *Mar. Spect. Ep. 2.*

their usual Habits, and the Gladiators dressed themselves, and were fitted out for the Solemnity of the Day, and where the Pomp of their entering the Amphitheatre was ordered. A Stone found last Year near the Amphitheatre of *Capua*, and exhibited in the new Volume already mentioned, has raised in me this doubt, because mention is made therein of an *Apodyterium* in that Situation.

But finally rejecting all those Divisions, I think 'tis more probable, that those Pillars do not shew it to have been a different Edifice, but a kind of *Vestibul*, by the *Greeks* called *Propylæa* or προπυλαῖα, and erected before the other Building which was most frequented. In the most famous antient Structures, a kind of outer Building was very much in use, as an Ornament and Defence to the principal Entry.

In some Medals this Building does in effect appear join'd to the Amphitheatre it self, nay the two last Coins shew the same Situation covered, but with a very different Appearance. Hence 'tis probable, that in latter Times, the first having fallen down, the *Propylæa* had been rebuilt in another Form. I was confirm'd in this Opinion, in digging up the Ground before the Amphitheatre of *Verona*, correspondent with the same Situation on the Medal, and there we found large Pieces of *African* Marble Pillars,

lars, which never had been placed elſewhere, nor otherwiſe made uſe of in the *Arena*. To this we may add, that at *Capua*, in the ſame Situation before the Amphitheatre there, Pillars were alſo found. I once ſaw the ſecond Medal, which had two Figures placed upon the Top of the *Antiporta* or Lodge; but as they had been touched with the Graver, I did not regard them. Now ſince we have in this Chapter ſaid ſo much on Medals, it will not be diſagreeable, to the Lovers of ſuch Curioſities, to ſee a Medal in every reſpect ſingular, nay even an Unic for what is yet known. On this the Front of a Building is repreſented, with Pillars likewiſe placed one above another, with iſolated Spaces between them.

Vaillant imagined the Figure here to be a Portico, having among his *Greek* Coins exhibited a Draught of it from the ſame Original; but in this he was miſtaken, for beſides the different Idea it has of the Face, and other Imperfections in the Drawing, it rather ſhews it to be a little Frame of Timber join'd together. *Meſſalina*, whom in this place we ſtile the *New Juno*, can be nowhere ſeen ſo lively in Effigy as here; and the fine Taſte is the more obſervable, as being on a *Greek* Medal. It was ſtruck in *Nicea*, and bears the Name of the Proconſul *Gellius Rufus*; it is preſerved in the Treaſure of the *Piſani*, now *Corraro*, but the Public ought to acknowledge this curious Piece, as proceeding from the Bounty of that magnanimous and great Senator Signor *Almoro*, to whom Learning [on account of his Sumptuous Library, and for the many good Qualities to which he is in many reſpects entitled] owes a great deal.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

In what manner it may be ſaid, that in Rome *there was but one Amphitheatre, and how long the Uſe of it laſted.*

FROM what has been already ſaid, one very important Truth may be gathered, namely, That there was no other Amphitheatre at *Rome*, but that of *Titus*; by which I mean, a perfect one made uſe of for their ſolemn Games. For there is no Memory of any other to be found on Medals, nor do the *Veſtigia* of any other appear in the Plan we have of old *Rome:* As it is figured out on a Marble Pavement of a Temple, the greateſt part of which is preſerved in the Palace *Farneſe*, and publiſhed by [1] *Bellori.* There, indeed, are three Theatres to be ſeen. [2] *Philander* on *Vitruvius* ſuppoſes, that there was too great an Abundance of Amphitheatres in *Rome*, and no leſs than ſeven ſtone Theatres, which he enumerates one by one; tho' in reality of fixed Theatres there were only three. He ranges them in the following Order: Firſt, that of *Caſſius*, mentioned by *Pater-*

[1] *Roma*, 1673. *fol.*

[2] *Ad lib. 5. c. 5. ſed puto pro Amphitheatris accipienda.*

culus,

culus, which is much anterior to the Amphitheatres, or indeed to Theatres of Stone either; nor was that Fabric ever finish'd. He places likewise that of *Caligula*, which was an unfinish'd Amphitheatre too, and of wood, as was that of *Nero*. The other of *Cornelius Balbus* was a Theatre. That of *Claudius*, mentioned by *Suetonius*, was neither a Theatre nor Amphitheatre. The Theatre of *Esquilinus*, *Philander* and others say, is spoke of by *Martial*; but he only mention'd a Water-Theatre, in the Street called the *Suburra*, which Father [3] *Donati*, with very good Reason, doubts if it was any thing else but a Fountain in form of a Theatre. Finally, *Philander* reckons that built by *Trajan*, in the *Campus Martius*, to have been an Amphitheatre, but very soon destroy'd by his Successor *Hadrian*, of which *Spartianus* makes mention. A late [4] Collector of Antiquities, has likewise reckoned that of *Trajan* to have been one of the Amphitheatres of *Rome:* I own he might with some shadow of reason be of that opinion, since [5] *Pausanias* calls it, *A great Theatre, round in every Part*. And yet because it was a Structure not of a very common sort, is there any reason why it should be called a Theatre? In those times they had not yet

[3] *Roma vet. lib.* 3. *c.* 10. [4] *Montfaucon c.* 3. *p.* 258.
[5] *Lib.* 5. Θεατρον Μεγα κυκλοτελες παντα χθεν.

begun

begun to confound the Names of thoſe Buildings one with the other; but why ſhould it be called a Theatre, not only by *Pauſanias*, but *Spartianus* alſo, who in the ſame Life, when it occurs, calls the Amphitheatre by its own proper Name? But we ſhall, in another place, give a more certain proof of this, and ſhew what kind of a Theatre that of *Trajan* was. Our preſent deſign is not to treat of all thoſe which really were never Amphitheatres, but of that of *Statilius Taurus* and the *Caſtrenſian* one, as we hear they are mentioned by *Victor* and *Rufus* in the Deſcription they have left us of the fourteen Regions of *Rome*, wherein mention is made of three Amphitheatres.

With regard to that of *Taurus*, we have already ſhewn how very inconſiderable it was, even when firſt built, and how afterwards it was burnt down in *Nero*'s Time, the Ruins and Name thereof being ſubſiſting, were the Cauſe why *Victor* has mentioned them: For we cannot believe, that the Edifices, and the Things ſpoke of by him, were all remaining entire and in uſe in his time. As to the *Caſtrenſian* one, we have reaſon to believe, that it was ſtill leſs conſiderable than the other, ſeeing no where elſe mention is made of it. There were Emperors, 'tis true, who to gratify the [6] Prætorian

[6] *Dio. lib. 54.* ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατοπέδοις.

torian Soldiers, ſometimes caus'd Gladiatory Games to be performed in their Quarters, of which *Auguſtus* gave Example; and there was a ſmall Amphitheatre erected perhaps by *Tiberius*, who in Perſon attended the *Caſtrenſian* Games, and where, 'tis [7] reported, that he ſhot a wild Boar with an Arrow; yet as he was no Admirer of publick Shows, 'tis more credible that this was the Work of [8] *Claudius*, who likewiſe exhibited Gladiatory Combats in the Prætorian Quarters every Year. But as the Structure was of ſmall Importance, it deſerv'd not to be mention'd by Writers.

That Ruin of Brick, and not of Stone, which appears within the Walls of *Rome*, near the Monaſtery of *Santa Croce* in *Geruſalemme*, is to this day believed to be the Remains of that Amphitheatre; the Knowledge of which Particular we owe entirely to *Panvinius*, who has ſhewn it in his Map of *Rome*, and in his Book of *Circenſian* Games thereby corrected the Errors of ſeveral other Authors. And indeed, from what remains thereof, we may ſtill conjecture that the interior part was of Wood: and as it has, ever ſince *Aurelian*'s time, been built up within the Walls of *Rome*, and made uſe of there as a Bulwark; we may thereby know how long it is ſince the uſe of it has been

[7] *Su. Ti.* 42. *v. Suet. c.* 34 & 47. *Anniverſarium in Caſtris, &c.*

[8] *In Claud, c.* 21.

laid

laid aſide. It is not ſo eaſy to learn where that of *Taurus* was, ſince no known Remains thereof exiſt at preſent, nor do ancient Writers afford us any great Light therein. *Panvinius* reckons the Walls of the Garden of *Spada*, in the Mount *Palatine*, to be Part thereof, but they rather ſeem to be the Remains of a Theatre than of an Amphitheatre. For my part, be that as it will, I am apt to believe that *Taurus*'s Fabrick was of no very long Duration; and in this Opinion I am the rather confirm'd from an Epiſtle of *Caſſiodorus*, which mentions that Building to have been thrown down in *Theodorick*'s time, and the Place where it ſtood converted to a private Uſe.

For we know that that King ordered the [9] Tower, *Circus*, and Place where it ſtood, to be reſtored to two noble Minors, as having been their Father's Property, and unjuſtly taken from them. By this Paſſage I underſtand the whole as ſpeaking of the Amphitheatre after it was ruined; for which reaſon, the Place where it had ſtood was then become private. The like I do of the Tower which had been erected in a Situation where ſome *Circus* had formerly been built, and where the Ruins only remained. The Author of the *Diarium Italicum* underſtood the Meaning of theſe Words as if it had been a diſtinct Place given to the forementioned

[9] *Turris, Circus, atque locum Amphitheatri.*

Sena-

Senatorian Family, for ſeeing the Games in the Amphitheatre, and a Tower in the *Circus* aſſign'd over to them, for beholding the Games from it, which, he ſays, was a great Honour done them. But among ſo great a number of *Latin* and *Greek* Authors who ſpeak of the *Circus*, none have made any mention of Towers therein; and if there had been any, 'tis more likely it would have been allotted to the common People, to view the Games from it; ſince 'tis certain, that the Places appointed for the Senators were in the loweſt Rank of all, and neareſt the Field of Combat. The Boxes [as one may ſay] of the *Circus*, were, I own, call'd *Spectacula & Fori*, but never *Turres*. The Seat of the Conſuls, and thoſe of the firſt Rank of Magiſtrates, are called by [10] *Livy*, *Foros Publicos*; and indeed the Emperor *Claudius* aſſign'd over the Privilege of ſitting in the *Circus* to the Senators in common, and not to certain Families; and this Order, as [11] *Dio* tells us, wa obſerv'd in After-times, ſo that no particular Perſon could, generally ſpeaking, uſurp a peculiar Place to himſelf in the Amphitheatre, becauſe the *Podium* or Boxes, built all round the Fabric, were appropriated for the Senatorian Order alone: The *Equites* had their particular Places alſo, tho' the Seats were taken up by the firſt

[10] *L.45. init.* [11] *Lib.60.*

Comers,

Comers, provided they were of that Order: Hence it was that the *Roman* Knight already mentioned, whom *Auguſtus* gave to underſtand, that when he had a mind to dine, he would go home to his own Houſe, ſent that Emperor this Anſwer; ſays [12] he, *So you may, ſince you need not fear loſing your Seat.* By which it appears, that when they left their Seats, others might take poſſeſſion of them. Promiſcuous ſitting was afterwards in uſe on the Paſchal Days, becauſe publick Shows were not exhibited then; for on all Feſtivals and ſolemn Days they were expreſſly prohibited by [13] *Valentinian.* The Context does likewiſe ſhew, that they diſputed about the *Utility* and *the Places* poſſeſſed by their Fathers, according to the *Jus Commune*, not *de Honorificentia:* So that I think with much Probability, we may conjecture that here it is ſpoken of the Situation of *Taurus*'s Amphitheatre, demoliſhed at that time, and of a Tower which took its Name from a *Circus* which formerly had ſtood in that Place; and ſo we read in an ancient [14] *Chronica* of the Biſhops of *Perigord*, cited by *du Cange*, how a certain Perſon *in the Place of the* Arena *built a Tower.*

The common Language of both Chriſtian and Pagan Writers makes it evident, that one only Amphitheatre was in uſe at *Rome*,

[12] *Quintil. l.6 c.3.* [13] *Cod. Th. l.15. t.5.*
[14] *V. Arena ſupra locum Arenarum Turrim ædificavit.*

and

and had that Denomination given it, none being distinguished by any particular Epithet, and when they commonly express, that *the Amphitheatre was repaired, he was led into the Amphitheatre, the Games were exhibited in the Amphitheatre*, &c. without meaning any other; 'tis certain that they understood thereby the Amphitheatre of *Titus:* which plainly shews, that there was that one only, since they did not call *Pompey*'s Theatre, *the Theatre*, by way of Preeminence, notwithstanding it was more sumptuous than the rest. *Ammianus*, speaking of the Emperor *Constans*'s Entry into *Rome*, mentions the most famous Edifices remaining at that time, among others, [15] *the Amphitheatre*, without adding any thing else, and the Theatre of *Pompey*, in order to distinguish it from the others. In the Fragments of *Dio*, published by the great *Fulvius Ursinus*, together with his *Legationes*, now collected into a Body of History of *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, we read of several Prodigies [for such they believe them] one of which happened in the Beginning of *Macrinus*'s Reign. Among the others, of Thunder which fell on the Top of the Amphitheatre, and where such a stubborn Conflagration ensued, that neither by the Water pour'd thereon like Rivers, nor the vast Rain which fell at that Time, could it be extin-

[15] *L. 16. c. 20.*

guished,

guiſhed, [16] *the Water and the Rain drying up ſo faſt, by the Violence of the Flames from Heaven, that the Amphitheatre it ſelf was damaged all round, inſomuch that for many Years, publick Shews and Gladiatory Combats were performed in the* Circus.

This Paſſage alone confirms all I aim at, becauſe it ſhews, that this muſt have been the Amphitheatre of *Titus*, there being no other in which they could exhibit the Games in the mean time, ſince they were obliged to bring the Gladiators into the *Circus*.

We may likewiſe obſerve, from the Words juſt now cited, and by the whole Paſſage, that notwithſtanding that great Conflagration, the Amphitheatre was however not conſumed, like that of *Taurus*, mentioned by the ſame *Dio*, as it would ſeem to read in the *Latin* Verſion, which very injudiciouſly renders it *deflagravit*; but as it may be elſewhere obſerved, by the Fire that was kindled from above, the inner Side, and the Things appertaining thereto, were only conſumed, tho' there is no doubt but other Parts of the Building ſuffered alſo.

There is one thing which I think proper to add, for corroborating what I have already ſaid, and what I am elſewhere to prove, from the Subſtance of this Paſſage, and it is this; that by mending the Text, and

[16] ἐν μέρει κἀ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ᾠκοδόμητο, ἔθεν ἡ θεὰ τὴν μονομαχιῶν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ὅτι πολλὰ ἔτη ἐτελέσθη.

changing only four Letters, I read the Word διέφθαρτο, *Orſinus* and *Leunclavius* in his fine Edition of *Dio*, write [17] διεγένετο, but without any meaning at all; hence it is, that the Verſion in the ſecond, neither agrees with it ſelf, nor reads well; *Aliquid tamen ex ea parte manſit integrum, unde Spectacula Gladiatorum multis in Stadio deinceps annis edita fuerunt*; not *Aliquid*, I ſay, but the Building it ſelf, *viz.* the Amphitheatre; not *ex ea parte*, but *in parte*; not *tamen*, which is not to be found there, and confounds the Senſe; above all, it muſt not be read *manſit Integrum*, becauſe it would not be well deduced from thence, that therefore they could not exhibit the Shews any more there; but on the contrary, that it was ſpoiled, which might well follow, that therefore they were obliged for many Years to make uſe of the *Circus*. The worthy Eccleſiaſtic *Nicolo Falcone*, who lately has done honour to *Rome*, by having brought to light, tranſlated and illuſtrated, many Parts of *Dio*, which had never been ſeen before; I ſay, of *Dio*, that great Hiſtorian, every Paragraph of whom, with regard to the *Roman* Hiſtory, is a Treaſure. This Gentleman, *Falcone*, perhaps knowing that in this Place διεγένετο, *ſuperfuit*, cannot run well, has wrote it περισεγένετο, but that would methinks agree rather worſe with the Author's meaning, ſignifying, *they ad-*

[17] *P. of p.* 900.

ded;

ded; whereas the Senſe here requires to be read, *they deſtroyed*, or demoliſhed.

How long the Uſe of Amphitheatres remained at *Rome*, cannot be eaſily determined; the firſt Laws enacted againſt all kind of bloody Games, began in *Conſtantine*'s Time, and in the Year 325, Gladiators were expreſſly forbid: not only thoſe of the Volunteers of that Profeſſion were included, but the Combats of the preſt ones alſo; the laſt of whom, inſtead of fighting, were condemned to the Mines, and yet the foreſaid Combats continued for a long Time; that Law, perhaps, regarding only thoſe in the Eaſt. As to this, we have the Authority of *Sozomen*, which we ſhall very ſoon produce.

In the ſame Age, *Conſtantine* publiſhed another Decree againſt them, as did likewiſe *Honorius*, tho' under the Reign of the latter they ſtill continued at *Rome*. For which Reaſon [18] *Prudentius* in the Beginning of the fifth Age, warmly exhorted that Emperor to extirpate them, which he afterwards did. The firſt Step he took to this, was to baniſh thoſe fighting People out of the Country; and this chiefly for an Accident which happened, and is related by *Theodoret* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. A certain Perſon, called *Telemachus*, by Profeſſion a Monk, who came from the Eaſt, happened on ſome ſolemn Day to go into the Amphi-

[18] *Prud. de Virg.*

theatre, where he began to endeavour all he could to hinder the Combatants from fighting: this unexpected Incident so enraged the Spectators, that without further ado, rushing on him, they tore him to pieces; for which, says our Author, and [19] *Sozomen* also relates the same, the *Romans* were for the first time forbid such Games. 'Tis true, notwithstanding this, they did not want Amphitheatrical Games among them, and fierce ones too; but such were only performed by wild Beasts.

Cicero in several places distinguishes the Gladiators from the *Bestiarii*, called Hunters, or *Venatores Arænarii*. As to this, see *Bullinger*, who has treated largely on this Head. [20] *Symmachus* says, that any Feast, tho' ever so sumptuous, was not at all relished, if the bravest of these *Bestiarii* did not fight. The various and surprising Ways by which they engaged with the wild Beasts, the Dexterity, the Address, and the Instruments they made use of on that Occasion, may particularly be gathered from some Passages in *Tertullian*, *Vopiscus* and *Prudentius*; but above all, from that Epistle of [21] *Cassiodorus*, who describes them accurately, and which may be compared with the Figures represented in the two * *Dittici*, published by *P.*

[19] *Soz. l. 5. c. 8.* περὶ δὲ Ρωμαίοις τὸ τε πρῶτον ἡ τῶν μονομάχων ελυθη θέα. *de ven.* [20] *Circ. l. 5. Ep. 59.* [21] *Var. lib. 5. 42.*

* *Whether the Author means* Dyptics, *is a Question, since he afterwards mentions Figures represented in them: perhaps the Word is deriv'd from* δείχω.

Vil-

Viltemius, where ſome of theſe Entertainments are ſeen expreſſed.

In the time of *Symmachus*, there was a Tax laid on the Animals allotted for the Games, namely, a fortieth Part; the which appears in that place, where he complains, [22] that they made thoſe, poſſeſſed of Dignities, pay that Tax alſo, ſince it ought only to fall, he ſays, on the trading People. If we believe *Theophanes*, about the End of the fifth Age, the Emperor *Anaſtaſius* prohibited the fighting with wild Beaſts alſo; but the two forementioned *Dittici* ſhew us bloody Battels of wild Beaſts at *Conſtantinople*, in the time of the ſame *Anaſtaſius*, who, together with *Agapitus*, was Oriental Conſul, namely in the Year 517. At *Rome* in 519, we find there were the ſame kind of Shews: *Entaricus Cillica* having on occaſion of being made Conſul, exhibited them in the Amphitheatre in a ſolemn Manner, cauſing a Number of wild Beaſts from *Africa* to be brought thither on purpoſe, of which *Senatorius* in his *Chronica* makes mention, informing, that in his time they began to wear out of uſe, yet they continued in the 523*d* Year, *Annicius Maximus* having exhibited them in his Conſulate. The ſame [23] *Caſſiodorus* deſcribing them, uſes this Expreſſion, *That People went with Pleaſure to ſee what Human*

[22] *L. 5. Ep. 59.* [23] *Var. l. 5. 42.*

Nature ought to have looked upon with Horror.

We must not pass over in silence that other use made of the Amphitheatre; namely, for punishing Criminals: of this we have many Testimonies in Writers, and that both the Theatre and *Circus* were also used for the same Purpose. [24] *Suetonius* speaks of a certain Criminal, who was whipp'd in all the Theatres; and *Philo* mentions, that another was burn'd alive in the *Hippodromus*. *Suidas* speaks of a third, who underwent the same Punishment. Nay, *Lactantius* exclaims bitterly against the People's taking pleasure in such kind of Executions; a Custom which very often made the Amphitheatres consecrated with the Blood of Martyrs, who were reckoned Malefactors by the *Pagans*; for at the Time of any general Calamity, the People used to cry out, [25] *Let the Christians be thrown to the Lions*; as if from that Sect all their Evils proceeded. Those who were exposed, they sometimes tied fast, in order to be devour'd all at once: at others, allowed 'em to struggle and fight with them, in order to prolong the horrid Entertainment. The Custom also of making Prisoners of War fight one with another like Gladiators [of which *Hannibal* shew'd an Example in the *Roman* Prisoners] lasted at least to the End of the

[24] *Aug. c.* 45. [25] *Tert. Ap. cap.* 40.

fourth

fourth Age. *Symmachus*, ſpeaking of the *Saxons* and *Sarmatæ*, ſays, they preſented themſelves like Gladiators. However, in the ſixth Century the Amphitheatrical Games were quite left off. *Juſtinian*, as we learn from *Procopius*, baniſhed them all out of *Conſtantinople*, and the other Cities of the Eaſt. Nor indeed after that Century do we find any more mention made of them even in *Italy*; at which Time the great Amphitheatre of *Titus* was rendered uſeleſs; quite abandoned, and liable to the Injuries of Men and Weather. It was indeed unlucky for that Fabrick, that by the Decreaſe of the Inhabitants, the Part of the City contiguous to it, became deſolate and uninhabited, and for many Ages reckoned like the Country. But this much is ſufficient with regard to the Amphitheatre in *Rome*; we ſhall now proceed to the others out of that City.

CHAP. VII.

That it was wrong to think Amphitheatres were built in every City of the Roman *Empire; the first Remark that is made here, is to consider how it was in* Greece.

THE Maxim of the *Romans* being to people the World with Colonies of their own Citizens, the Privilege of being a *Roman* Citizen produced this Effect on the other People; namely, To transform those who enjoyed it likewise into *Romans* also, whereby the Diversions of that Nation became likewise Universal.

In one of *Asinius Pollio*'s Epistles, we learn, that even in [1] *Tully*'s time Gladiators and Wild Beasts were in use in *Spain*. In the Reign of *Nero*, such Shews were given by the *Præsides*, or Governors of Provinces; [2] *Tacitus* tells us, that he prohibited that Custom. Other Cities and People were likewise exceedingly anxious to have Edifices among them, wherein their famous Games might be seen with advantage: And indeed in several places there was an Emulation for having an Amphitheatre; nay, if

[1] *Fam. l.* 10. [2] *Ann. l.* 13.

we

we were to relate the Vulgar Opinion, and what we find written in perhaps a thousand Books, that Fabrick was the most frequented of any in all the Parts of the *Roman* Empire; insomuch that every City had one to adorn it. Nay, it has been reckoned a piece of Unkindness in the Writers of particular Histories, if they have not made a Present of an Amphitheatre to their native Country, especially since they could give it with so small an Expence. And this the rather, since all those learned Men have [3] *Lipsius* for their Leader, who affirms, that *they were commonly to be seen in all the Provinces*, where likewise were several Theatres, *Stadia*, and *Circus's*, and that it was a rare thing, if in any *Colony* or *Municipium* such Fabricks were not to be found. This Chimæra in our time has daily gained ground, insomuch, that we read in the late Collection of [4] Antiquities delineated, that not only *every City had its Amphitheatre*, but that whereas [5] *Rome*, the Metropolis of the World, and the native Country of such Wonders, had properly speaking, but one Amphitheatre; yet in the Neighbourhood of the City of *Autun* in *Burgundy*, like Plants which bud forth, there might have been many.

[3] *Cap.* 1. *Crebra admodum in Provinciis.* [4] *Montf. l.* 3. *p.* 259. [5] *P.* 261. *In Agro Augusto-Dunensi plurima Amphitheatra Solo pæne Æquata visuntur.*

But

But as I am my ſelf of a quite contrary Opinion, I do poſitively aſſert, that no Edifice whatſoever, was ſo uncommon and rare as this; nay, that very few Cities had a fixed Amphitheatre in them, the Truth of which I ſhall be at no ſmall pains to evince: Firſt, As being very neceſſary in treating on the Subject of Amphitheatres in general; and next, That I may be able thereby to clear up the many Miſtakes of thoſe, who in treating on other Things, are miſled by this common and falſe Suppoſition.

The firſt Proof for the Truth of my Aſſertion, may appear plain to the Eyes of all thoſe who have rightly conſidered the Remains of the Amphitheatres of *Rome* and *Verona*, and where 'tis eaſy to be proved, that the one was the moſt ſuperb Structure of any of which the *Romans* could have an Idea, and of ſuch Architecture and Bulk, that many Cities could not poſſibly be furniſhed with the Materials neceſſary for its Erection; the whole *Roman* Power having never brought it to its Perfection, even in the Time of *Veſpaſian:* and notwithſtanding *Rome*, that little World, had, as *Vitruvius* tells us, ſeven *Circi*, beſides the *Circus Maximus*, yet, as we have already ſhewn, one only Amphitheatre there, was fit for publick Games. Another Proof we have for the Truth of this Aſſertion, is by obſerving in how very few Places there are Remains of Amphitheatres to be ſeen at pre-

preſent. Since 'tis certain, that where a Fabrick had been of the ſame Extent and Dimenſion with that of *Verona*, 'tis hard to imagine it ſo intirely ruin'd, as that not ſo much as the leaſt Remains ſhould now be found thereof; for the interior Parts and Foundation can ſcarcely be imagined to have been deſtroyed without Hands, and if demoliſhed by Hands, it could not be done, I think, without the greateſt Difficulty: Now ſince ſuch an Annihilation has not happened at *Verona*, which by reaſon of its Situation was more than any other City expoſed to frequent Incurſions, to War, to Changes and Deſtruction, much leſs then could the like Ruin happen in the other City, which had not thoſe Calamities. To this I add, that 'tis beyond my Comprehenſion, how ſuch an immenſe Quantity of vaſt ſolid ſquare Stones, as that of an Amphitheatre, could ſo effectually vaniſh, or why in the other Buildings of ſuch ancient Cities, the Stones are not to be ſeen in plenty, ſince no body has ſurely taken the Pains to grind them to Powder, and that they did not take them out of the old Buildings, and make uſe of them in the new; for in *Verona* we have certain Evidences, that the Stones of the ruin'd Part of the Amphitheatre, are ſtill in the Walls of the old Caſtle, in the Baſement of the Wall which ſurrounds the Palace of the *Scaligers*, in the Bridges, and diſperſed here and there in other Places.

A Curſory Journey through the *Roman* Provinces, might give a more certain Proof for confirming this Fact; and I would gladly know, in the firſt place, what Country ought to have abounded ſo much in thoſe kinds of Fabricks as *Greece?* where the Deſire for publick Shews was ſo fervent, and where the Art of Building flouriſh'd ſo very conſpicuouſly, and where ſo great a Plenty of Marble was to be found? And yet there were no Amphitheatres in *Greece*, as is manifeſt by the ſilence of all Writers therein, nay, by the *Grecian* Monuments themſelves. ſo that I think one may ſafely believe, in a Country where there was not ſo much as one Stone but what was famous, that ſuch a Building as an Amphitheatre would ſurely not have remained unknown and forgot. *Pauſanias*, that accurate Deſcriber of *Greece*, has never ſo much as once named an Amphitheatre there; no more has [6] *Pollux*, notwithſtanding the latter has enlarged conſiderably on the Subject of the Theatre. On the contrary, he poſitively denies there ever was any Amphitheatre there. The ſame Author informs us of two different Kinds of Shews in *Greece*, the one *Gymnaſtic*, the other *Scenic*; and that the *Stadium* was the Place for the former, the Theatre for the latter. Of the five different Sorts of Games that were ſo famous in *Greece*,

[6] *L.* 3. *c.* 30.

neither the Gladiators, nor the wild Beasts had any part therein, the which may be seen in the *Anthologia*, and in many other Books where mention is made of those Games.

I had the Curiosity to look into a Manuscript of this *Anthologia*, wherein I hoped to find more than what we commonly have in Print: the whole is wrote by *Maximus Planudes*, the last Person who collected *Greek* Epigrams; the Code it self is preserved in the publick Library of [7] St. *Mark*, and towards the End, contains that Version of St. *John*'s Gospel, in Heroic Verse, which begins Ἀ"χρονος ἦν ἀκίκητος, &c. It was first published by *Aldus*, and esteem'd commonly to be the Work of *Nonnus*, Author of the *Dionisiacs*; but the Manuscript it self asserted it to be of *Ammonius*, the Philosopher and Rhetorician, Ἀμμονίε φιλοσόφε καὶ ῥήτορος μεταβολὴ, &c. At the Bottom thereof we learn, that it was wrote by *Maximus Planudes*, at *Constantinople*, in the Monastery of our Saviour, whom they surname the Incomprehensible, χειρὶ Μαξίμε μοναχῶ τῶ πλανηδῆ ἐντὸς Κωνσταντινεπόλεως καὶ τῶν μονὴν τῶ σωτῆρος Χριστου τῶν τε Ἀκαταλήπτε ἐπονομαζομένην: Before it, is the *Anthologia* wrote by the same Hand; and yet we have found no other Epigrams but those that are printed, nor had there been any, I am certain we should have found

[7] III. 5. 8.

other

other mention made of Amphitheatrical Games, than thoſe we know already.

There was therefore no Motive for building Amphitheatres in *Greece*, ſince the People there were Strangers to them, nor indeed were ſuch kinds of Shews much eſteemed in that Country.

In two Cities only, and on a certain Occaſion, they were admitted, as we have already hinted, namely, at *Athens* and *Corinth*. And as to their having been a Marble Amphitheatre at *Athens*, as is mentioned both by [8] *Philander* on *Vitruvius*, and *Lipſius* too; this perhaps they give us without any Authority. *Herodes* the *Attic*, 'tis true, in his Attempts for Magnificence, built the *Athenians* two ſuch ſtately Structures, as had not then their Equal in all the *Roman* Empire, as [9] *Philoſtratus* aſſerts; and that which he did erect of Marble, was only a *Stadium* for the Games of the *Athletæ*, and one Theatre: And indeed thoſe who have ſearched diligently among the Ruins of that City, have found no Veſtige of an Amphitheatre there; nay, how very falſe the Opinion is, that they had ſuch Structures, may be gathered from [10] *Spartianus*, who ſays, that when *Hadrian* was at *Athens*, and being deſirous to celebrate a Combat of wild Beaſts, he gave the

[8] *Phil. ad l. 5. c. 5.* [9] *In Vit. Her.* [10] *Athenis mille terrarum venationem in Stadio exhibuit.*

ſame

ame in the *Stadium*. Moreover [11] *Philo-ratus* relates, that *Apollonius*, in order to liſſuade the *Athenians* from taking delight n the Combats of wicked Fellows, bought vith Money, having been called to a Coun-il held in the Theatre, told them plainly, hat he had a Reluctancy to enter into a lace polluted with Blood, and wonder'd, hat *Pallas* did not abandon the higher Part of the City, where the Theatre ſtood; or hat *Bacchus* ſhould come any more into the Theatre to receive Libations, while it was contaminated with Murders. There is alſo a very fine Paſſage in [12] *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, where exclaiming againſt the *Athenians*, for the Delight they took in Gladiators, ſays, that in this they were worſe than the *Corinthians*, the latter only exhibiting their Combats in an ugly pitiful Valley; whereas the *Athenians* did it in ſo noble a Place, as that of the Theatre. Thus does he decide the Matter for *Corinth*; and by this 'tis plain, that neither in that City nor *Athens*, was there any Amphitheatre: nor indeed, becauſe occaſionally we find mention of thoſe kinds of Games in *Greece*, muſt we therefore deduce their Origin from thence, as *Lipſius* and others have done.

Since therefore neither *Athens* nor *Corinth* had any Amphitheatre, we may ſafely conclude, that the leſſer Cities, and thoſe

[11] *In Vit. Apoll. l.* 4. [12] *Orat.* 31.

leſs

leſs addicted to thoſe Games, were far from having them. But this ſome may object againſt, becauſe of the Remains of two Amphitheatres ſaid to be in *Sicily*, one at *Catanea*, the other at *Syracuſe*; allowing this, it is however certain, that *Sicily*, after the Time of the *Roman* Republick, I mean while the *Greek* Emperors were in being, became like *Italy*, both with regard to its Language and Cuſtoms. For my part, I ſhall be ſo fair as not to conceal one Reaſon which inclines me to believe, that there were Amphitheatres in the Iſland of *Candia*; and this I have from a moſt valuable Manuſcript, ſhewn me by *P. Carlo Lodoli*, a minor Friar, who, for the better ſucceeding in the important Undertaking he has in hand, is no leſs furniſhed with proper Talents, than rare and learned Materials. In this Manuſcript, is an Account of a large Theatre in *Candia*, delineated by *Onorio Belli* of *Vicentia*, who went thither in the Year 1583, Phyſician to the Proveditor-General, and remain'd there in that Character with great Credit. This Work is wrote with Erudition and Judgment; nor have we any thing in Print at all to be compared with it in value. In the firſt Book, where he treats about Antiquities, he refers to Inſcriptions, diſcovering at the ſame Time an admirable Skill in Architecture, and in giving Plans of all ſuch ancient Edifices as are not known to the

the Publick; ſome of which were upon a certain Occaſion, which then interven'd, deſtroyed. Of theſe are ſeven Theatres, of which he found great Remains among the Ruins of ſeveral Cities; he likewiſe mentions ſeven Amphitheatres, of which he ſeem'd to find Veſtiges alſo, eſpecially two, one at *Gortina*, the other at *Gerapitna*. He gives the Form, and repreſents the Drawing of them, in a way commonly practiſed; namely, as if he had found them entire and perfect. As to this I ſhall ſay nothing, only that in a little time we ſhall ſhew how very eaſy it is in deſcribing the Remains of antient Edifices, to make uſe of one Word for another; more eſpecially ſince Theatres, Amphitheatres, *Circus's*, and other publick encloſed Places, are for the moſt part uniform and like one another: and the rather, ſince Theatres were made with one entire Circumference, which we ſhall mention when we come to treat about that of *Pola*. The Amphitheatre of *Gortina* he repreſents, as is uſual, by a Plan entirely like that of the *Coloſſeum* of *Rome*, and by a double Portico, and in the four Diametrical Ways, tho' all the Arches were, as he ſays, but Fifty Six. He adds, that the Fabrick was of Brick, without any Ornament of Architecture; which Particular can ſcarcely be believed of an Amphitheatre, eſpecially in a Country where the publick Edifices were of Stone, and or-

namented too. He adds, that this Structure was join'd to the *Forum* of the City, whereas the Amphitheatres were always without the Walls. The other, he says, was at *Gerapetra*, called at first *Gerapitna*, as he learned from the Stones with Inscriptions found there, and which confirms the Opinion of those who have believed that *Ptolemy*'s *Gerapetra*, was the same with the *Gerapitna* of *Strabo* and *Pliny*. Our Author affirms, that the Amphitheatre was dug between two little Hills or Rocks; and in order to compleat the Oval, on the Points they had made six Buttresses of solid Masonry, without Ornament, between which were the Stairs. What may be believed from all this, I know not, nor for what Purpose such a Building was designed; and yet so great a Deference I shall pay to the Judgment of this learned Man, as to grant, that it might not be impossible, but a kind of Amphitheatre might have been erected even in a *Greek* City, in order to gratify some *Roman* Governour or another, tho' I own it was contrary to the *Grecian* Usage. Nor indeed does it make against my general Assertion, nor the proper and common Custom of the *Grecians*. But *Belli* found greater Remains of magnificent Buildings among the Ruins of this City, than in any other Place; and refers to an antient League or Contract of Amity or Friendship, between this and another City now unknown,

known, and which was found on a Stone; but here is not the Place to mention any thing more concerning this Particular.

I remember alſo another Inſcription, to which the celebrated Father [13] *Montfaucon* refers in the *Diarium Italicum*, and which he ſaw at *Venice*, where is read ENIEPA-ΠΥΓΝΗ; he tranſlates it *in Sacra Pugna*, for which, he eſteems that the ſaid Monument contains in it ſomething very curious, and, by laying a ſtreſs upon ſuch an Interpretation for a Truth, he explains the whole falſely: It being evident, that in it there is not any mention made of a *Pugna*, either ſacred or profane. The Word is read ENIEPAΠΥΓΝΗ, by which is underſtood, that in the City of *Gerapitna*, and by the Senate there, ſuch a Decree was made.

A much greater Number than could be well imagined, of ſuch Remarks, are to be ſeen in my *Arte Critica Lapidaria*; which I ſcarcely remember at preſent, nor do I know what will be its Fortune.

[13] *Pag.* 74.

CHAP. VIII.

Search is made in the other Eaſtern Parts.

SINCE, generally ſpeaking, *Greece* had no Amphitheatre, no more had *Aſia*: As for Aqueducts, Temples, Theatres, and other antique Buildings, ſeveral Veſtiges and Ruins are to be ſeen in thoſe Countries, but none of Amphitheatres. The Temple of *Epheſus* and many other Buildings, are often mention'd by Writers; and *Ariſtides*, in the [1] Oration directed to the People there, makes mention of the Walls, the Theatre, and the Porticoes of that City, as things which they greatly valued. With regard to the *Stadia* and *Circi* in thoſe Parts, an Account is given of them in a great number of Places, but no where of Amphitheatres.

Any City of *Aſia*, which might ever have had ſuch Buildings, would not have neglected to advance it as an Argument of Preference, eſpecially at the Time they were ſetting forth the Nature of their reſpective Prerogatives, in the Conteſt they had one with another for erecting the [2] Temple to *Tiberius*; and the rather, ſince an Amphitheatre would have drawn together a Concourſe of People

[1] *Orat.* 31. [2] *Tac. Annal. lib.* 4.

from other Cities, and there, would have been the Place of exhibiting their moſt ſumptuous public Shews, which they often perform'd in common, and about which they had frequent Diſputes. At this, *Ariſtides*, in the ſame Oration, hints; and the Author who [3] lately wrote on this Subject, has not taken notice of this Particular: who ſays, that the Title of *Neocore* indicates, that that City had Amphitheatres, wherein Games were exhibited in the name of the whole Province; and ſo we argue of the Cities which aſpired to the Power of governing the others. Among the Buildings ruin'd by the Earthquake in *Nicomedia*, [4] *Libanius* mentions the ſtately Theatre and *Circus*, which, he ſaid, were more ſolid than the Walls of *Babylon*. [5] *Pliny* the Younger, ſpeaks of its *Aqueduct*, and likewiſe of the Theatre of *Nicea*; but none of them mention any thing about an Amphitheatre: but as to what the Author ſays about one at *Carthage*, or in *Alexandria*, in *Antioch* or *Conſtantinople*, I am inclined to believe, that there was no fixed Amphitheatre at neither of thoſe Places. [6] *Alipius*, St. *Auguſtine*'s Friend [while he remain'd at *Carthage*, where cruel Diverſions were not uſed, but thoſe which were vain and entirely ſuited to Pleaſure] was debauch'd with

[3] *Scien. des Med. c. 5.* [4] *Orat. 6.* [5] *Lib. 10.* [6] *Aug. Conf. L. 6. c. 7. Cathaginenſium, quibus Nugatoria fervent ſpectacula.*

the Delight he had in the *Circenſian* Games, and at *Rome* alone raviſhed with the Gladiatory Combats.

* *Salvianus* does not reprove the *Carthaginian* Chriſtians for uſing any other Kinds of publick Shews, but only for *their flocking to the* Circus's, *and being luxurioufly fond of the Theatres*; yet in the Acts of St. *Perpetua*, and her Companions, who were expoſed to the wild Beaſts, ſome believe at *Tuburbium*, others in *Carthage*, the Name of Amphitheatre was given to the *Circus*. Towards the End of thoſe Acts we find, that the Martyrs were given up a Prey to the Beaſts upon a Stage, a thing not uſual in Amphitheatres, but in other encloſed Places, ſince the Piazzas were not ſo conveniently expoſed to the entire View of all the Spectators. St. *Ignatius* was ſentenced by *Trajan* to be devoured by Beaſts in *Antioch:* But at the ſame time we find in theſe Acts, that he was commanded to be carried to *Rome*. In thoſe Places they ſometimes were pleaſed with Gladiatory Sports, for which reaſon, *Conſtantine* proclaimed a Law in *Berytus*, aboliſhing that Cuſtom; and *Libanius* ſpeaks of ſuch Games in *Antioch:* yet becauſe of this we muſt not infer that there were Amphitheatres there, eſpecially ſince they likewiſe celebrated thoſe Shews in the *Stadia*, and within the Paliſado's. 'Tis known what a great City *Theſ-*

* *Lib.* 6. *ſalonica*

ſalonica was, and in the Acts of St. *Demetrius*, wrote by *Anaſtaſius* the *Bibliothecarian*, and regiſtrated by [7] *Mabillon*, in his Analects; we learn, that there the Emperor *Maximilian* delighted in Gladiatory Combats, but that they were ſhewn in the *Stadium* of that City.

Nay, we read in the ſame Acts, how ſuch Games were performed within a kind of Circle, namely, an Encloſure of Boards. This is ſufficient to make us underſtand how the Want of an Amphitheatre was ſupply'd in the *Eaſt*. Yet that there was no ſuch Structure at *Antioch*, is clear from *Libanius*; who, in relating the remarkable things of his own Country, in ſeveral Orations, he names the Theatre and Circus, but never an Amphitheatre; and in his Panegyrick, ſays, that beſides the Great Theatre, there were in the Middle of the City, Theatres of another Form, ſome for the *Athletæ*, others for the Wild-Beaſts: Where he confirms, that they exhibited the Games of the Beaſts out of the Theatres, and in different and leſſer kinds of Buildings. The Truth of this appears the more evident, where St. *John* [8] *Chryſoſtomus* ſays, that the *Antiochians* had left off all kinds of Shews, wherein o-

[7] *Illic etenim parabatur per quaſdam Tabulas circulus circumſeptus.*

[8] *Hom.* 15. Τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἔφαξαν· ὁ ἱππόδρομος ἄβατος γέγονε.

therwiſe they had loſt themſelves, he expreſſes it thus; *The Circus is abandoned, and the Orcheſtre ſhut up.* So [9] *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſays, that *Conſtantius Gallus* living in that City, and delighting in bloody Games, notwithſtanding they had been often forbid, exhibited however ſix or ſeven of ſuch Shews, and thoſe either of Gladiators or Boxers, arm'd with a Ceſtus, and always in the Circus. At *Conſtantinople*, a City which became a ſecond *Rome*, 'tis highly probable that the Uſe of the Amphitheatre would never have been left off, had they ever had any. The Founder of this laſt mention'd City, 'tis true, built a famous Hippodromus or Circus; this *Euſebius*, *Sozomen*, *Zonaras*, and many others mention: Nor would they have been ſilent about the Amphitheatre, if in like manner ſuch a Building had been erected by him. In a Law of the *Theodoſian Code*, and in that little Book of the Diviſions or Diſtricts of *Conſtantinople*, publiſh'd by *Pancirollus*, mention is made of an Amphitheatre, ſituated not very far from the [10] *Portus Julianus:* But 'tis certain, by that we muſt underſtand ſome Circuit or encloſed Place, called ſo by the *Latins*, becauſe of the Likeneſs it had to an Amphitheatre, and which they made uſe of for ſhewing the Beaſts; ſince a great part

[9] *L. 14. c. 7. Ludicus cruentus in Circo ſex vel ſeptem aliquoties vetitis certaminibus, &c.*

[10] *C. Th. l. vet. de calc. coſt.*

of

of the Circus was preſerv'd, even to the laſt Times of the *Grecian* Empire, tho' no Remains whatſoever of an Amphitheatre have ever been found there; nor is there any *Grecian* Monument that mentions it, nor one Word about it in all the *Byzantine* Hiſtorians, nor in the anonymous Writer who flouriſh'd in the Time of *Conſtantinus Dux*, as may be ſeen in the Treatiſe of the oriental Empire of *P. Banduri*, who has wrote ſeveral Books on the Antiquities of *Conſtantinople*, and given us a minute Account of the Buildings there. Yet we muſt not forget, that in the *Chronica* of *Marcellinus* mention is made, that in the firſt Conſulate of *Juſtinian*, there was a famous Shew exhibited of Wild-Beaſts in the Amphitheatre; but he made uſe of that Word in the ſame manner as the others had done, nor do I know what credit ought to be given to the Fact itſelf, becauſe *Procopius*, in his *Secret Hiſtory*, ſpeaks of the Prohibition of the ancient publick Games made by *Juſtinian*, and regrets, that [11] *the Theatres, the Circi and the Hunting-Places lay for a long time waſte and diſuſed*; and ſuppoſes the foreſaid Prohibition to be the Effect of that Emperor's Avarice.

What we are now come to, is to make a particular Enquiry into this Affair at *Alexandria*, as having been above all other Cities the moſt addicted to ſuch kinds of Diverſions

[11] *Cap.* 26. κυνηγεσία.

and

and Shews; in this we ſhall examine what the moſt famous Writers have mentioned on that head. In the printed Books of *Pliny*, where he treats about the *Egyptian Papyrus*, made uſe of for writing, we read, that one kind of it was called Amphitheatrical, from the Place where it [12] was made.

Guilandinus, who wrote a Treatiſe about Paper, finding in the Context, that the Amphitheatre could not ſtand well there, was of Opinion, that inſtead of *Amphitheatrica* it ought to be read *Atribitica*, from the chief City of a Province in *Egypt*. He ſhews *Pliny*, for the ſame reaſon, named two kinds of the Paper of that country, by the Word *Saitica*; and according to another Amendment of the ſame *Guilandinus*, *Tanitica*, and not *Tæniotica*, as it is printed. [13] *Joſeph Scaliger* laugh'd at that fine Emendation, deriding *Guilandinus*, becauſe he would not allow of an Amphitheatre to have been at *Alexandria*, a City, he ſaid, ſo full of Pleaſures. *Voſſius* followed *Scaliger* in this, and *Harduin* them both, as I have already taken notice in my ſecond Book of the *Hiſtoria Diplomatica*. But firſt 'tis to be obſerv'd, that *Pliny* makes no mention of *Alexandria* in that place, nor gives the leaſt Hint about it, ſo without any Reaſon it came into the mind of thoſe worthy

[12] *Lib*, 13. *c*. 12. *à confectura loco*.
[13] *In Opuſc*. *vult Amphitheatrum non fuiſſe Alexandriæ*, *&c*.

Men,

Men, That the City where the Paper was made, named *Amphitheatrica*, was nothing but *Alexandria*; and that *Guilandinus*, by his Emendation, has done little leſs than deny'd that there were ever any Amphitheatres in *Alexandria*, which indeed he never thought of. But notwithſtanding all this, the Reader may reſt ſatisfy'd, that what *Guilandinus* has ſaid is a Truth, and neither ridiculous nor extravagant, as thoſe Authors [by the common Prejudice they have that Amphitheatres were in every City] believ'd. Beſides, when *Pliny* wrote, there were no Examples to be found of Structures like that of *Titus*. Nor is it therefore credible, that a durable Amphitheatre was ſubſiſting in any other Place. That none was anterior to it, appears from *Philo*, * where he ſays, that the Præfect *Flaccus* cauſed the *Jews* to be tormented in the Theatre, before the Muſick and the Scenic Games began; which, had there been any, would more probably have been in the Amphitheatre, amidſt the cruel Shews there. But that there were none at that time, nor afterwards, we are very certain, from what *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates, who, in his elaborate Encomium on that City, mentions the Tower and the Rampart in the Sea, and the Temples there, among which was that of *Serapis*, but no Amphitheatre. Nay, that there was no ſuch

* *Phil. in Flacc.*

Build-

Building in *Alexandria*, nor the Cuſtom of ſuch Shews for which Amphitheatres were intended, is undoubtedly made apparent by an Oration of [14] *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, by which he endeavoured to alienate the *Alexandrians* from the exceſſive Paſſion they had for Shews. There he continually accuſes them for the vain Pleaſure they took in Theatres, and in the *Stadium*; and for their Delight in Horſes, Charioteers, Singers, Fidlers, Dancers and Wreſtlers. But of Amphitheatres, wild Beaſts, and Gladiators, he makes not the leaſt mention.

I remember a Stone [referred to by *Appian* in his Collections, and from him by *Gruter* *] which would incline one to think, that there was a School for Gladiators in *Alexandria*; the Inſcription is this: *Procurator Ludi Familiæ Gladiatorum Cæſaris Alexandriæ ad Ægyptum.*

But with regard to Inſcriptions, I own, that tho' they are the moſt precious and pure Fountain of any, when ſafely made uſe of; yet it muſt be with great Caution, until a general Examination be eſtabliſhed for diſtinguiſhing the falſe from the genuine. And indeed, ſome time or other, with Divine Permiſſion, we intend to ſhew evidently that the foreſaid Stone is falſe, either in the whole, or in that part. *Marc Anthony*, 'tis true, carried Gladiators into thoſe Countries

[14] *Orat.* 32. * 376. 3.

by

by way of Soldiers; in like manner, *Otho* armed 2000 againſt *Vitellius:* All which I ſhall confirm, by ſubjoining here, that the foremention'd Orator, in order to convince the *Alexandrians*, how ridiculous they made themſelves, and in what manner they were undone, by running after Shews, and the like; recites 36 Verſes, made by I know not what Poet, in deriſion of them. Which Poem is moſt remarkable, as being a Piece of *Grecian* Satire, and among the Monuments of that Nation, ſingular in its kind: a Particular which never as yet has been adverted to. I ſhall give the Tranſlation as near to the Original as is poſſible, having only mended it a little here and there, in order to cover ſome ſmall Imperfections in the Original; the Author of which has undertaken, for the moſt part, to throw it into Verſe, or to imitate the *Homeric* Strain. In *Engliſh* Proſe it is to this Purpoſe.

The Charioteers ſometimes bowed to the Ground, then erected themſelves on high; the Spectators ſtood not ſtill, but left their Seats, and being yellow with Fear, and anxious for the Palm of Victory, they encouraged each other: Then lifting up their Hands to all the Gods, they prayed, making a Clamour like that of Rooks and Cranes. But after they had drank powerful Wine and Beer, then flew they clattering through the

the Circus, *and like a Cloud of Daws, or rather Starlings, chattering from high; so they perceiving the Coursers coming upon them (which thing to Fools brings Death) fell over one another, with a shrieking Noise; but like as the Wind carries Chaff through the Air, and Fire roars through the deep Valleys, so they, like Flames, grew furious. Then might you say that the Sun and Moon were in danger, for Men are like the Leaves of Trees, those nimble Men who are enamoured with Songs and Chariots, the loud noise of both which reached up to Heaven. One there was, who seeing his Neighbour drunk, said,* Dog's Eyes *and* Hind's Heart *what do you fear? and why do you look on the Field behind the Chariot? Come rouse your self, make one effort that we may see you flung flat on the Ground. But thus did* Hippocoontes *reply, Friend, pray sit still and be quiet, take my Advice, since you are a defenceless Minister, and have lazy Horses. In truth, so spoke a white-footed Horse, under the Yoke, and said, don't you see that I am large and fair, yet Death and powerful Destiny hang over me? I wish the great Goddess* Juno *had furnished every one of you here with Hoofs, so that one sitting on one side, the other on the other, might not prate any more. Thus did he speak, but those of* Jupiter, *the Son of* Saturn, *turn'd about and prayed,* &c.

Ho-

Horace, *Quintilian*, and *Diomedes* after them, ſaid, the *Lucilian* Satire was entirely *Latin*, and not made by a *Grecian*; yet by theſe Verſes it ſeems, the Truth of that Aſſertion may be called in queſtion, and the rather, ſince it appears not to have been an unuſual Compoſition; for being produced by the Orator, he ſays, * *Thus has one of thoſe foul-mouth'd Poets wrote:* which makes it evident, that ſuch kind of Poetry was in uſe; and by calling them foul-mouth'd, denotes the Character of the Satiriſts. We may add, that the *Sylli* of *Timon*, as *Caſaubon* has well remarked, in his Treatiſe of Satiric Poetry, appears to have been nothing elſe. This Knot may, I think, be well looſed, by obſerving, that the aforeſaid Verſes is a Chain of *Homeric* Parody, and like thoſe of *Timon*, as *Laertius* fully ſhews; and which do evince, that he likewiſe had the ſame kind of Verſification, and that the *Grecians*, being for the moſt part entirely wedded to the *Homeric* Style, where, in their Compoſitions they affected a kind of Medley or *Cento*, in that way have been therefore little regarded; and indeed the truth is, they ſeem by no means equal to the Satires of the *Latins*.

But to return to the Subject in hand: From this Satire likewiſe appears, that the Games at *Alexandria* conſiſted in Singing and Cha-

* Τὶς τῶ σαπρῶν τούτων ποιητῶν.

riots,

riots, and not in Amphitheatrical Entertainments. *Philo*, who was an *Alexandrian*, relating, that in the Beginning of *Caligula*'s Reign, every City feasted, and were employed about Games, calls them *Theatrical* and *Circensian*, but not *Amphitheatrical*. In fine, all the Passages we meet with in the *Greek* Fathers, where they reprove the Oriental People on account of their Shews, speak nothing but either of Theatre or *Circus*, or those Buildings into which Beasts were brought, which they called [15] Hunting-Places; but never mention Amphitheatres, as may be particularly remarked in many Passages in *Chrysostom*, and in the 27*th* Homily of *Nazianzenus*, and the first Catechism of St. *Cyril*: likewise in the [16] Canons of the Synod called *Quinisextus*, the Hunting-Shews were prohibited. *Suidas*, about the word Amphitheatre, cites none but *Agazias*, who mentions one in *Italy*. And in the Word *Cynegium*, he spoke of the Hunting-place at *Constantinople*; nor does he so much as hint that it was an Amphitheatre. So also in the Laws, they used to divide the Shews into Theatrical and *Circensian*; and when they happened to mention that of the wild Beasts, they did not term them Amphitheatrical, but [17] *Theatrical Games*, and *Circensian Contests*, and *Coursing of wild Beasts*, or rather the deplorable Shews of

[15] Τα Κυνηγετικα. [16] *Can.* 52. [17] *C. Th. de Spect. Lib.* 2. *Just. de Feriis, lib.* 10.

wild

wild Beasts, like what was mentioned in that of *Theodosius*, directed to the Præfect of the *Prætorium* of the East: And likewise those of *Leo*, by which all manner of Shews on Sunday were prohibited. *Eusebius*, who in his Ecclesiastical History mentions so many Martyrdoms, particularly those by the wild Beasts, and by way of Shew, which happened in the many great Towns of the Eastern Provinces; in the *Greek* Original of that Author, we have no mention of any Amphitheatre, tho' he speaks of them twice, in another Place, where he treats of the Martyrdom of [18] St. *Photinus* at *Lyons*. In like manner *Josephus* uses the Word Amphitheatre four times in *Greek*, speaking of those of Wood erected by *Herod* in *Judea*.

CHAP. IX.

That few Amphitheatres of Stone, were either in the West or in Italy *itself.*

LET us now go to the *West*, the Provinces of which were much more inclin'd to that *Italic* kind of Shews, than they for whose use Amphitheatres were originally design'd. Among the infinite number of Cities, there are but few found which can make it appear on good Grounds, that they

[18] *L. 5. c. 1.*

had Amphitheatres; and all these are either in *Gaul* or *Spain*. The Acts of St. *Fruttuoso* and his Companions, make particular mention of an Amphitheatre in *Tarragona*. Some likewise imagine, that Remains of such Structures have been near *Seville*, and that now others are to be seen in *Italica*, which I shall not pretend to determine. We have already found by an Epistle of *Pollio*, that there were Shews of Gladiators and Wild-Beasts in *Seville*; but the Age anterior to *Cæsar*'s Administration sufficiently evinces that they did not then make use of them in the Amphitheatres. That there are the Remains of an Amphitheatre at *Nimes* in *France*, has always been believ'd; nay, *Lipsius* and *Bullinger* speak also, tho' but ambiguously, of another at *Poitou*. But a more accurate Observation thereof is, I think, still necessary.

There are others, not a few, asserted to be remaining elsewhere, and this on account of the Ruins extant; but with what Certainty, I leave to those who, with a skilful Eye, may have examined them upon the spot: since People conclude that Amphitheatres have been in several places, for no other reason but the oval Form, which they think they see in their Ruins. We have formerly hinted, that in the Epistle directed to the Cities of *Lyons* and *Vienne*, and preserved by *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, mention

mention is made of an Amphitheatre at the firſt of theſe Cities: Beſides, the Writers and Monuments of latter times, I mean poſterior to the year One thouſand one hundred, cited by *Du Cange* in his *Gloſſary*, name the *Arenæ* in *Marſeilles*, *Bourges*, *Perigord*, in *Rheims*, and in *Paris*: But in the latter Ages, they neither knew what an Amphitheatre was, nor did they uſe ſuch names in their true and ancient Signification. In *Treves*, a City made a Colony by *Auguſtus*, and called by *Pomponius Mela*, the moſt Opulent, where ſeveral Emperors reſided, we have a ſtrong reaſon to believe, that they had an Amphitheatre there, ſince *Aimonius* mentions the *Arenæ* at that place, [1] ſaying, that on certain Occaſions they made a Defence, *by placing a Gariſon in the* Arenæ *there*. Nevertheleſs, I find in [2] *Salvianus*, that thoſe People deſired no other Games, but what were Theatrical and Circenſian: And I perceive [3] *Eumenius* celebrates the *Circus* of that City, which he calls *a Rival to that of* Rome; as he does likewiſe the *Baſilicæ & Forum*, Structures which were, ſays he, *reared up to the Stars*; but in all this mentions not any thing about an Amphitheatre. In like manner *Conſtans*, while he wintered in *Arles*, celebrated ſumptuous

[1] *L. 3. c. 2.*
[2] *Lib. 6. Theatra quæritis, circumpoſtulatis.*
[3] *In Paneg. Conſtant.*

Shews there, but they were all Theatrical and Circenſian, as [4] *Ammianus Marcellinus* plainly evinces. The Circenſian Games laſted even to the time of *Juſtinian*, as appears from [5] *Procopius*. *Sidonius Apollinaris* makes an Encomium on *Narbona*, and extols it greatly for its Edifices, enumerating them one by one; namely, the *Theatre*, *Forum*, the *Gates*, *Porticos*, *Capitols*, *Mint*, *Hot-Baths*, *Arches*, *Granaries* and *Shambles*. Can we think then, that amidſt ſo many he ſhould forget Amphitheatres? But let us proceed to *Italy*: The Amphitheatres of Stone were not ſo many there as is commonly believ'd. *Vitruvius* gives us to underſtand, that the Temples of *Hercules* in thoſe Cities which had neither *Gymnaſium* nor Amphitheatres, were built near the *Circus*; ſo that we find the *Circi* were every where, but no Amphitheatres, not ſo much as of Wood, made at that time: And if we look for an undeniable Proof of this from Ruins, I am of Opinion, that we ſhall not probably find a certain Evidence of any fix'd Amphitheatre out of *Verona*, except that of *Capua*. As to thoſe of *Sicily* and *Pola*, we ſhall defer ſpeaking of them at preſent. The other Remains of Amphitheatres given out to be in *Albano* at the *Garrigliano*, *Pozzuolo*, *Orticoli*, *Spello*, and many other places, are, for the moſt part, either Pieces of an-

[4] *L.* 14. *c.* 5. [5] *Bell. Goth. l.* 3. *c.* 43.

cient

cient Brick-Walls, or the Remains of ſome encloſed Places; whence 'tis viſionary or uncertain to aſſert, that ſuch were the Ruins of Amphitheatres: and the rather, ſince ſome of them are in the ſide of ſmall Rocks, which was an Artifice in making Theatres at a ſmaller Charge, by working out the Auditory in the Declivity, and placing the Scene in the Plain; not an Amphitheatre, which required the Steps or Seats to be made circularly all around it. The ancient Commentator of *Juvenal*, ſpeaking of the *Arena Albana* [in which that young Man, the Conſul's Son, ſlain afterwards by *Nero*, who like a *Beſtiarius*, bravely kill'd the *African* Wild-Beaſts] ſays, it was a [6] *Luſorium* of the Emperor; namely, a private and peculiar Encloſure appropriated for the like Uſes, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place.

Ambrogio Leone, who wrote about the beginning of the ſixteenth Age, imagined he ſaw the Remains of two Amphitheatres at *Nola*; which indeed would, if true, have been no ſmall Wonder: but he adds, that within them they recited Fables. Nay, [7] *Julius Scaliger* was liberal enough to give no leſs than two Amphitheatres to *Verona* alſo: But I ſhall not make further Enquiry about what is aſſerted in *Italy*, that being too tedious a Task. However I muſt ſay,

[6] *Ad Sat. 4. in luſorio Cæſaris, &c.*
[7] *De Com. & Fr. cap. 17.*

that if a narrow View be taken of our own *Venice*, the Territory of which has at all times been not a little diſtinguiſh'd, rich, and well peopled; in the Extremity thereof was the great City of *Aquileia*, and yet for all this, we do not find the leaſt remembrance of an Amphitheatre there; nor could I, by diligent ſearch, diſcover the leaſt Appearance of any.

[s] *Jornandes*, who flouriſh'd about a hundred years after the Incurſion of *Attila*, affirms, that ſcarcely any Remains of *Aquileia* were exiſting in his time; but I am certain in this he exaggerated: but ſuch a Pile as our *Arena* could not be annihilated in ſo ſhort a time. One may reply to this, that the Grandeur of *Aquileia* was chiefly in the latter Ages, and yet ſuch Edifices the Work of former Times. But what ſhall we ſay to *Padua*, which flouriſhed ſo very much in the higher Ages, that few Cities could be compar'd to it for Grandeur, as may be gathered from *Strabo?* And yet I greatly doubt, if it had any fix'd Amphitheatre, ſince no Remains of ſuch a Building have ever been diſcovered there, and *Scardeo* mentions not one word concerning it. 'Tis true, *Pignorius* has treated largely about an Amphitheatre at *Padua*, and given the Plan and four Draughts in Perſpective thereof: But that which appear'd to him to be an

[s] *Cap.* 42.

Amphitheatre, was only an oval Court, placed before a fine Palace, near the Church of the *Auguſtine* Fryars, with the Remains of a Wall round it; which, becauſe of the great number of Gates, and its Figure, was call'd *Arena:* the Building appearing to have been erected only four or five Ages ago; nor had it ever any Portico join'd to it, nor Stairs or Steps. We may obſerve in the Acts of the Saints *Fermo* and *Ruſtico*, publiſh'd lately by me, by way of Appendix to my Hiſtory of *Diploma's*, that thoſe two Chriſtian Heroes were, by *Maximine*'s Order, given up to *Anolinus*, who, as he was inveſted with the Authority of ſupreme Magiſtrate, and at that time on his Departure from *Milan*, to both the *Venices*, had expreſs Injunctions given him, that they ſhould either renounce their Religion or loſe their Lives: *Anolinus* therefore, in order to expoſe the Saints by way of publick Shew, and thereby to be more able to gratify the People, immediately commanded them to be ſent to *Verona*, where, in the Amphitheatre they were tore to pieces. From this it plainly appears, that no ſuch Building was then at *Bergamo* or *Breſcia*, through which Cities the Saints were to paſs; nor indeed in *Aquileia*, one of the largeſt and moſt frequented Cities of any in that Province. For had Amphitheatres, I ſay, been in any of theſe three Towns, *Anolinus* would ſurely have order'd

these Saints to have been executed in one of them.

But not to speak any more of our Province, I am of opinion, that 'tis pretty difficult to determine, if any Amphitheatre had been even at *Milan*, notwithstanding it was a City very Illustrious, both for its Bulk and many high Titles. On one hand, we find in the ancient Life of St. *Ambrose*, an Amphitheatre mention'd to have been there; but on the other, *Ausonius* does not say any thing of it in his *Elogium* on that City. And yet that Panegyric is distinguish'd from any of the others, because of the particular mention it makes of the Buildings there, stiling *Milan* the Rival of *Rome*, where its *Circus* and Theatre are spoke of before any other thing: there he names the Temples, Mint, Palaces, *Tribune* or *Pantheons* adorn'd with Statues, and the strong Walls of that City. Can any one then imagine, that if such a Building as an Amphitheatre had ever been there, he would have forgot it? Tho' 'tis not unreasonable to suspect, that the Name *Amphitheatre*, mention'd in the same Life, was given to the *Circus* there also; and this *Socrates*, [9] *Sozomen* and others speak of; just as [10] *Cassiodorus* does of the Charioteers of *Milan*. Moreover in the aforemention'd Acts we find, that while *Maximine* stood in the *Suggestum*, he caused the

[9] *L.* 3. *c.* 26. [10] *L.* 7. *c.* 28. *Var. l.* 3. *c.* 29.

fore-

foreſaid Martyrs to be tormented in that City. Such Puniſhments were commonly inflicted on Criminals within the Amphitheatre, tho' in thoſe Acts it is expreſs'd, that they were martyr'd in the *Circus*. There are two Copies of Verſes [exactly like one another, compos'd in the time of *Pepin*, and probably by the ſame Author] now publiſh'd in the Treatiſe relating to the *Italian* Affairs; in one, the City of *Verona* is deſcrib'd, and not a little extoll'd; in the other, *Milan*. As to the firſt of theſe, mention is made in a particular and diſtinct manner of its Amphitheatre; but why nothing about that of *Milan*? *Pietro Laſena*, in his Learned Treatiſe upon the *Neapolitan Gymnaſium*, reproaches ſome people for their Ignorance in believing that an Amphitheatre had been at *Naples*; notwithſtanding that City, in ancient times, was alſo very famous.

I have ſtill one Remark to make on this head, and it is this, that the very Stones with Inſcriptions have ſuffered even in ancient times, for the reaſons already given. Among the few that have eſcap'd that Ruin, there are four remaining which refer to the Amphitheatre; but this ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place. *Capua* has been no leſs unfortunate in preſerving its Inſcriptions; for, as it appears by the Treatiſe lately publiſh'd on the Antiquities of that Place, there are but three left which mention its Amphitheatre.

I would gladly know then, how it happens, that if such Structures had been in every City, in the many Towns now subsisting there are so few Stones with Inscriptions, that mention those Buildings? 'Tis true, I have observ'd two printed Inscriptions, which speak of an Amphitheatre, in *Luco Feronia*, and in *Velletri*; other two, hinted to have been in *Prenestе* and *Aliffi*. Among other Writers *Lampridius* mentions one in *Lanuvium*; *Xiphiline* also gives a hint of one near *Pozzuolo:* but whether these were entirely of Stone, or partly of Wood, we have no Author positively determines. A fix'd Amphitheatre is seen at *Catanea* in *Sicily*, and we read in [11] *Cassiodorus*, that the Citizens there did both ask and obtain Leave from *Theodoric*, to make use of the Stones of its Ruins for repairing their Walls. [12] *Agathias* mentions likewise one at *Parma*, which was made use of by *Butilinus*, as a place of Ambuscade for his Soldiers. [13] *Procopius* speaks of another at *Spoleto*, where a Captain of *Belisarius* had placed a Garrison; but whether all these places had the Steps and the other Parts of Stone, there is none who can determine. But, in fine, be it as it will, with regard to this or that particular City, in that I shall not be positive, nor raise Disputes about it; tho' it is most certain and self-

[11] *Var. lib.* 3. *c.* 49. [12] *Ag. Bel. Goth.*
[13] *Goth. l.* 3. *c.* 23.

evident

evident from what is already said, that in the *Provinces*, and in *Italy* itself, Amphitheatres of Stone were neither in every City, nor in so great number as is commonly believed.

CHAP. X.

From whence the Error proceeded, in believing that there were Amphitheatres in every City.

THE Prejudice is so common that Amphitheatres were in every City of the *Roman* Empire, that [1] *Velserus* had no other ground for his Assertion that one had been at *Augsburg*, nor *Mabillon* better [2] Authority that an Amphitheatre had been at *Paris* and *Tolouse*. But I believe it will not be of small Use to the Publick, if we trace this Error from its first Source, and the Motives which had introduced that Opinion.

We may in the first place account for this by considering, that People had never imagin'd that Amphitheatres were made of Wood as well as Stone. 'Tis usual with People, when they assert that fixed *Arenæ* had been in every City, to call to mind immediately the great number of them built by *Herod* in *Judea*, spoke of by many Authors. *Jo-*

[1] *Rer. Aug. l. 5.* [2] *Re. Diplom. l. 4. 11. 110. 143.*

sephus

ſephus ſpeaks of two, one at *Jeruſalem*, the other in *Ceſarea*. But why don't they conſider, that that King, in order to flatter the *Romans*, by introducing their Cuſtoms, gave into this Singularity in the time of *Auguſtus*? that is, long before there were any Examples of Amphitheatres made of Stone: I mean, before that of *Titus* had been ſeen; which is ſufficient to convince, that without doubt *Herod*'s Amphitheatres were of Wood, and therefore 'twas eaſy for him to build two of that Material. But neither in Authors, nor in Monuments of Antiquity is any more mention made of them. We may ſay the ſame of that other, which *Joſephus* relates to have been built at *Berytus*, by King *Agrippa*, in the Reign of *Claudius*. But this Hiſtorian does not afterwards ſo much as hint, that there were Amphitheatres either in *Ceſarea* or *Berytus*, at the Time when *Titus* celebrated the Birth-days of his Father and Brother, wherein that Emperor exhibited ſeveral kinds of Shews; in one of which, between thoſe devoured by the Beaſts, and others which periſhed in the Flames, and by combating, there died, he ſays, 2500 captive *Jews*. Nor does it ſignify, that he ſpeaks of thoſe Edifices as great Works, ſince even an Amphitheatre of Wood was no ſmall Building. That one of Wood erected by *Nero*, is mentioned by *Tacitus* as a ſumptuous Structure; but the other at *Fidena*,

Fidena, of Wood alſo, was capable of containing fifty Thouſand People. From the whole we may remark, that *Joſephus* had a violent Inclination to magnify the Things of his own Nation. It ſeems, Example was one of the chief Reaſons why the forementioned King *Agrippa* had 700 Couple of Malefactors ready for fighting. But as to the frequent uſe of Amphitheatres of Wood, 'tis obſerved in *Tacitus*, that *Cecinna* and *Valens*, being deſirous to exhibit Gladiatory Games in *Cremona* and *Bologna*, in order to gratify *Vitellius*, ordered the Soldiers of the 13*th* Legion to build Amphitheatres there. But can we imagine Structures erected in one ſingle Seaſon of the Year, could be of any other Materials but Wood, and executed by Military Hands? We learn from *Xiphiline*, that in *Caracalla*'s Expeditions he was deſirous to have Amphitheatres and *Circi* in all thoſe Places where he winter'd. How can we then think that ſuch occaſional Works, built ſometimes in one Place, ſometimes in another, were of Stone? The Legions had their peculiar Builders among them, as Inſcriptions inform us, but ſuch were for Wood Work: Smiths they had alſo, but no Maſons; ſince the Employment of the latter was of no uſe in military Machinery. The Municipal *Arenæ* mentioned by *Juvenal*, in which thoſe People, who afterwards became wealthy, had wrought; theſe

Structures,

Structures, I ſay, ought not to be underſtood Theatres, as is falſly believed by ſome modern Commentators, and contrary to the expreſs Declaration of the ancient Scholiaſt himſelf, nor indeed ought it to be underſtood of Amphitheatres of Marble.

That Gladiatory Games ought not to be reckoned as proceeding from the uſe of any kind of Amphitheatres, we have already ſhewn, tho' it might well have happened, that ſome of the ordinary Cities, might on certain Occaſions have made uſe of them and Huntings too: For thoſe Shews were as much practiſed in the *Circi* as in the Amphitheatres. Nay, we find the Emperor *Probus* ordered the Hunting which he gave to be ſhewn in the *Circus*, called by *Vopiſcus*, *a moſt ample Building*. They likewiſe exhibited them in the *Stadium*, which place was allotted to the *Athletæ* for Wreſtling and Boxing, being eaſily prepared, and much uſed in the *Eaſt*; ſo that every City of Note had its particular *Stadium*. They exhibited them likewiſe within Paliſadoes of Wood, of which Material the Steps were alſo made, as we find mentioned in the Acts of St. *Demetrius*. Another Motive for inducing People to believe that, at leaſt, in great Cities they had Amphitheatres, was from ſeeing the like kinds of Buildings in the leſſer Towns. [3] *Lipſius* ſaid he knew for

[3] *Amphit. Ext. R. 6. 5. Scio majora multo, &c.*

certain,

certain, that the moſt noble Towns in *Gaul* had Amphitheatres; and this, for no other reaſon, but becauſe there was one at *Nimes:* Nay, he adds, that he was perſuaded other Cities had Amphitheatres ſtill more magnificent than the Town juſt now mentioned, in proportion as they were larger than it. But in this I think there are more than one Abſurdity; ſince, in the firſt place, the erecting a fixed Amphitheatre did not depend ſolely on the Richneſs and Largeneſs of a City, but on having Quarries of Marble and Stone of their own, near at hand; which, I think, contributed not a little to the having ſuch Fabricks erected; as, no doubt, did likewiſe the exalted and noble Genius of the Inhabitants, where the Knowledge of Architecture, and a great Paſſion for Shews prevailed. But in the Sequel, when we treat thereon, we ſhall plainly ſhew what we underſtand by the greater and leſſer Cities; ſince we muſt not have any regard to the preſent Times, or latter Centuries, but to the higher Ages of the *Roman* Empire, for in them alone the erecting of Amphitheatres was undertaken. In more modern Hiſtories it appears, that almoſt all the Cities which are now the greateſt and moſt famous, have been chiefly augmented in the third Century; I mean, after the new Syſtem of Religion was introduced in *Conſtantine*'s time: ſo that 'tis no wonder if Amphitheatres then were not in uſe.

What

What ſeems likewiſe to have occaſioned the foreſaid erroneous Belief, may be deduced from the Ambiguity of the Names of thoſe Structures. *Salmaſius*, *Pagi*, *Baluzio* and others have underſtood the Word *Luſorium* to be the ſame with that of Amphitheatre: *Lipſius* took it for *Ludus*, or a School for Gladiators. But *Lampridius* (who, if I miſtake not, was the firſt that made uſe of that Word) ſays, that [4] *Heliogabalus* made a *Triclinium* or Dining-Room on the Top of the *Luſorium*, and that while he dined he cauſed the Huntings of Wild-Beaſts and the Combats of Criminals to be perform'd there for his own Entertainment. All which ſhews, that the Building was rather a kind of Court-Yard, or incloſed Place appropriated for the Games in the Palace. Nor do I think [5] *Lipſius*'s Amendment right, when in explaining the word *Noxios*, he maks it Gladiators. And, indeed, what I have aſſerted from the [6] Book of *the Deaths of the Perſecutors*, is confirmed thereby; where it is ſaid, that *Maximilian* had a *Luſorium*, and a great number of very fierce Beaſts, which, when he had a mind, he cauſed to be brought into it, and where he ſet them on to devour People; his Cuſtom having been never to ſup without Bloodſhed. Sometimes alſo the

[4] *Stravit ſibi triclinium in ſummo Luſorio, & dum pranderet Noxios & Venationes ſibi exhibuit.*

[5] *Sat. Ser. l.* 1. *c.* 14. [6] *Cap.* 21.

words *Arena* and *Cavea* have made People miſtake, becauſe they don't always allude to the Amphitheatre; of old it was call'd *Arena*, for having commonly Sand ſtrew'd on the Ground within it, to hinder the Feet of the Combatants from ſliding, and likewiſe that their Blood might be thereby abſorbed. But as the like was done in the *Circus*, the ſame Name was given to it alſo, and every other Place appointed for publick Games. That the *Forum* was alſo covered with Sand, whenever the Gladiators were to fight, we learn from a Verſe of *Propertius*. [7] *Lipſius* deny'd that the Name *Arena* was ever given to the *Circus:* But when *Pliny* ſpoke of *the* Arena *of* Pompey *the Great*, he certainly did not mean that of the Amphitheatres, which then were not in uſe. So that where he ſpeaks of *Cæſar*'s having *ſurrounded the* Arena *with a Ditch*, by the word *Cavea* the Theatre was alſo underſtood, on account of the ſimilitude of the *Auditorium*, like a Concavity in all thoſe Edifices. [8] *Cicero* however ſays, that in the *Cavea*, both ſinging and playing on Inſtruments were perform'd, the whole having echoed with the Applauſe of a *Drama* made by *Pacuvius*. [9] *Tertulliam* ſhews the double meaning of

[7] *Amph. cap.* 3. *l.* 8. *c.* 22. *&* 7.
[8] *De Leg. de Amic.*
[9] *De Spect. cap. ult. Utraque Cavea non Caula.*

the word *Cavea*, expreſſing it thus: That the Enjoyment of the Bleſſed ſhall be much more agreeable than the *Circus* and *Stadium*, and of both the *Caveas*, [as it ought to be read] namely, of the *Theatre and Amphitheatre*. [10] *Symmachus* mentions the *Scenic* Pleaſures of the *Cavea Pompeiana*.

But above all, we ought to read the Works of modern Authors, and the Antiquities they give us, with great Caution; becauſe, as to the *Roman* Buildings, in proportion as they loſt the uſe of them, ſo have they confounded their Names one with another; inſomuch that the words *Amphitheatre*, *Theatre*, *Circus*, *Stadium* and *Arena*, are often uſed promiſcuouſly, and not a little abuſed; conſequently not to be underſtood, according to their proper and ancient Signification. The *Miſcellan* Hiſtory calls that of *Titus* a Theatre: *Zonara* and *Manaſſe*, in their poetical Verſes, term the *Circus* a Theatre: [11] *Caſſiodorus* confounds the word *Hiſtriones* or Stage-Players, with that of *Aurigæ* or Charioteers: The M. S. of the Acts quoted by *Arringhi*, ſpeaks of ſome Martyrs ſhut up in an Amphitheatre without the Walls of a certain City; but as there was no ſuch Building on the outſide of *Rome*, ſo 'tis evident that, if he means it there, it muſt be

[10] *Lib.* 10. *c.* 25.
[11] *Var. l.* 2. *c.* 9. *l.* 3. *c.* 51. *l.* 4. *c.* 35.

un-

underſtood the *Circus*; ſince, as [12] *Panvinius* relates, there were not a few *Circi* near *Rome*. The word *Arena* was likewiſe ſometimes given to every kind of Structure reſembling an Amphitheatre, of which we have ſhewn an Example, particularly of that in *Padua*. *Agnello* ſpeaks of an Amphitheatre in *Ravenna*, but both the time it was built, and his relating that near it the Temple of *Apollo* ſtood, makes it evident that it was only a Theatre. Nevertheleſs, there the Gladiators were ſent to be train'd up and diſciplin'd; and, as **Strabo* avers, on account of the Wholeſomeneſs of the Air there, *Cæſar* had formerly thought to appropriate it to the foreſaid uſe: which, indeed, was at a time when Amphitheatres were not in being. *Salvianus* mentions the Theatre as the moſt ſingular Curioſity in *Ravenna*, but ſpeaks not one word about the Amphitheatre. The anonymous *Veleſianus* informs us, that *Theodoric* built an Amphitheatre in *Pavia*; but who can believe they thought on ſuch a Structure in the ſixth Age of Chriſtianity, when the Gladiators and every kind of bloody Games were aboliſhed? So that we muſt conclude it to have been a Theatre or *Circus*, ſince 'tis certain Horſe-Races were every where much longer in uſe, as were the *Circenſian* Games, celebrated even by [13] *Totila*. I obſerv'd, with much Pleaſure, in that City a

[12] *Circ. c.* 26. * *Lib.* 5. [13] *Hiſt. Miſ. l.* 16. *c.* 19.

moſt curious and noted Inſcription, relating to ſuch a kind of Edifice, made by *Theodoric*; tho' the Legend does not explain preciſely what the Building was.

And indeed there are a great number of modern, and even famous Writers, who ſometimes confound the Words Amphitheatre and Theatre one with the other; nor a few who ſuffer themſelves to be deceiv'd by Monuments not genuine, and by laying too great a ſtreſs on the modern Lives of Saints, and the ſpurious Deeds of Martyrs, wherein the word Amphitheatre is here and there often mentioned. But what ſhall we ſay to the *Latin* Verſions of Authors, or the *Greek* Monuments, which place Amphitheatres where they never could have been? For example, the *Latin* Acts of Saint *Taracus* and his Companions, names the Amphitheatre three times; but in the *Greek* Original, we read that the Martyrdoms of thoſe Saints enſued in the [14] *Stadium*. In the Tranſlation of the Fragment of the Book of Martyrs in *Paleſtine*, Amphitheatres are three times named, tho' the *Greek* of *Euſebius* has no ſuch thing; for there we read that the Shew was perform'd in the *Stadium*. In the Life of *Hadrian* the Sophiſt, wrote by [15] *Philoſtratus*, the *Latin* changes the words *Amphitheatrical Shews* thus, *the Rounds*

[14] φερεται δε εις μεσον το σταδιον.
[15] εγκυκλιως θεας ἐρχησων. *Spectaculis Amphitheatrorum, &c.*

of

of Dances. On the other hand, *Peanius*, in his *Greek* Verſion, renders it, *The Gladiatory Theatre*; whereas the *Latin* of *Eutropius* has it *Ludus*, namely, the School of Gladiators. In the Tranſlation of * *Dio* 'tis ſaid, that the Image of *Druſilla* was brought into the Theatre on a Chariot drawn by Elephants; whereas the *Greek* has it *Circus*. In *Xiphiline*'s *Greek* likewiſe, 'tis common to find the Theatre call'd Amphitheatre; and the word Hunting, as *Dio* uſes to term it, left out of the Text. But *Xiphiline* ſeems not to have liked the word *Amphitheatre* at all; no more did the other *Greeks*: The reaſon of which can be nothing elſe, I think, but that the foreſaid word had its Origin in *Italy*, and out of *Greece*; and this, if I miſtake not, is pretty well confirm'd in the Remarks I made in my [16] Hiſtory of *Diploma's*; namely, that the word *Diploma* itſelf, notwithſtanding it was *Greek*, was however not uſed by the *Grecians*, [17] *Plutarch* excepted, and even by him with a kind of Modeſty; and for no other Reaſon, but becauſe it had its Origin out of *Greece*, and was uſed at *Rome*.

But to conclude this Head, 'tis certain that many have been miſtaken in ſurveying the Remains of ancient Buildings, by taking one thing for another. The ſmall *Peninſula* of

* *Lib.* 59. [16] *L.* 1. *n.* 13.
[17] *In Galba.* Τα καλεμένα Διπλώματα.

Sarmio in our Lake, becauſe there are the Remains of ſome Walls, and a part of a Building there, has been judg'd to be a *Roman* Work, and is call'd, the Houſe of *Catullus*; which Name ſeems not without ſome reaſon to have been given it, and appears to have been handed down to our times. **Parthenius* the Commentator on that Poet, imagined this to be the Remains of a Theatre; which Opinion was approved of by *Joſeph Scaliger*, ſo that †*Dempſter* very fantaſtically reckoned *Sarmio* among the twelve Cities of the *Hetrurians* on this ſide of the *Appennines*. The truth is, the ancient Palaces had ſome parts like the Auditory of the Theatres, as I have obſerved in ſeveral ancient Remains. *Valeſius*, in his Account of *Gaul*, obſerves, and from him ‡*Mabillon*, that one of the Amphitheatres, about which *Lipſius* has treated, was no Amphitheatre at all, but only the Ruins of a Palace of the Kings of *France:* and indeed the Deſcription *Lipſius* gave of it, agrees neither with the Structure of an Amphitheatre, nor a Palace; that Author having, I am afraid, not employ'd his Judgement therein to much purpoſe. But the moſt experienced Antiquaries have ſometimes committed ſuch Blunders; as is plain by ‖ *Fabretti*, who imagined he ſaw the Remains of an Amphitheatre at *Trebula Mutueſca*; whereas himſelf ſhews,

* *Theatri lateritii reliquiis, &c.* † *Het. Regal. l.* 4. *c.* 9. & 107. ‡ *Re. dipl. l.* 4. *c.* 142. ‖ *Inſc. p.* 400.

it

it had ceaſed to be a City long before any Idea of an Amphitheatre had been conceived.

The Appearance of any round or oval Figure produces in ſome Peoples Imagination, the Fancy of an Amphitheatre. To this we may add, that where the Remains of a *Circus* or Theatre are to be ſeen, nay of many other kinds of ancient Buildings, they very much reſemble the Figure of an Amphitheatre. But what ſhall we ſay, when it happens in many places, that People on finding Ruins, immediately cry out, that they are the Remains of an Amphitheatre, or of ſome *Roman* Temple or another; and yet every Part of what they do ſee, is modern, and not ſo much as an antique Stone to be found, or the leaſt Reſemblance of one appearing there?

Nay, what ſhall we ſay to the great number of Prints, which in a bare-faced manner are made to impoſe upon us, by having lofty Amphitheatres in Cities and Places engraven on them, when miſ-ſhapen Figures, of a roundiſh Form, are only to be found at thoſe Places? In the Book intitled *Antiquities explain'd*, a Drawing is given of an Amphitheatre of three Orders at *Autun*, as if it ſtill exiſted there, with a Portico above the Steps, and Statues on the outſide; but thoſe who have been in the Country affirm, that all this is merely the Work of the Pen, and Buildings upon Paper. Of this we are ſure, by obſerving the whole is only

copied from a Drawing of *Ligorio*, who figured out the *Arena* of *Verona* according to his own Caprice. For which reaſon we ſhall give that Building a place with our *Naumachia*, as a thing thruſt into the poſthumous Works of *Panvinius*, on the Antiquities of *Verona*. In the forementioned Collection, the intire Drawing and Profile of the Steps of the Amphitheatre of *Italica* in *Spain*, is alſo ſhewn; notwithſtanding we read at the ſame time, that the ſaid Amphitheatre is ruin'd, even to its very Foundation. In the ample and noble Collection of Architectonic Works, lately compiled by *Fiſchers*, 'tis affirm'd, that the Amphitheatre of *Terragona* contained Eighty thouſand Men; and this Calculation they have been able to make from a ſmall Piece of an ancient Wall, and an Arcade, which they are inform'd is remaining in thoſe Parts.

CHAP. XI.

That 'tis eaſy to miſtake the Monuments of Antiquity by the Draughts given of them, and to believe Amphitheatres to be where they are not.

IF People miſtake in judging about the very Remains of ancient Buildings, what may they not in the Imagery of them, upon

worn-out Metal, or in half-consumed *Basso-Relievo's* or other kinds of ancient Monuments which they see? In the *Dittici* delineated by *Anastasius*, the eastern Consul *Viltemius* imagin'd he saw the Figure of an Amphitheatre, in which the Games of Wild-Beasts and Men were perform'd; and this was afterwards copied by *Pagi*. But I would gladly know what Appearance there is of an Amphitheatre in a Semi-Circle, without Steps, and where the Spectators are represented on the outside of it? Nay, it is extremely well confirm'd by the foresaid *Dittici*, that in *Constantinople* they exhibited such Shews in very different kinds of Buildings, and not in an Amphitheatre, altho' by a like use they may sometimes have been called by that Name. In the same manner a certain Edifice which appears on a Medal of *Faustina* the Elder, publish'd by *Mezzabarba*, is judg'd to be an Amphitheatre, but not justly: But at present I find it convenient to treat particularly on the Amphitheatres believ'd by some to be on *Trajan*'s Pillar.

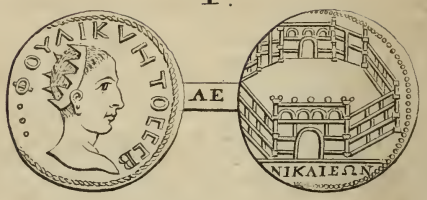
I know not what kind of round Building it is that is twice represented, obscurely, on the foresaid Pillar; the first near a City besieg'd by the *Dacians*, the next, where the Embassadors are sent from *Decebalus* to *Trajan*: It is not possible, I say, from the Obscurity of the Stone to assert what they really

are:

are: And indeed notwithſtanding [18] *Ciacconius* has illuſtrated that incomparable Monument to very great Advantage, when he comes to thoſe two places he prudently paſſes by them, and ſays nothing on that head. *Bellori*, who afterwards made freſh Annotations thereon, imagin'd he could diſtinguiſh Steps, therefore thinks they repreſented Amphitheatres; ſpeaking of one of them, he ſays, [19] *Among the Buildings of that City, or Caſtle, there was a* Caſtrenſian *Amphitheatre of Wood.* [20] *Fabretti* laugh'd at their believing it *Caſtrenſian*, or of Wood; and in ſuppoſing it fix'd, he thought it indicated that City to have been a *Roman* Colony. But that would be a new Mark of a Colony indeed, ſince there were none at that time in thoſe Parts: For, as we learn from *Dio*, they were only eſtabliſh'd by *Trajan* after the War was ended. And indeed it would be too ſtrange a thing, to find that ſuch obſcure and unknown Cities upon the *Tibiſcus* had then Amphitheatres. But allowing that the forementioned Buildings had been there, we cannot believe them to have been made of any other Material but Wood, and, indeed, the haſty Productions of military Hands; like the other two Buildings in *Italy* made by a Legion, in the time of *Vitellius*, as is already mentioned. What is ſeen in the firſt Print, as

[18] *Tab.* 29. & 87. [19] *Tab.* 23. & 85.
[20] *Colon. Tra. pag.* 39. & 86.

I.



II.

III.

IV.

it is exactly delineated by *Mutianus*, inclines us to believe them of Wood. *Fabretti* atteſts, that the principal Piles in the Circuit of ſuch a Building, were painted at the Top as Paliſadoes are at preſent; which agrees with the Deſcriptions we have of the ancient *Vallum*. A Medal of *Licinius*, and alſo the Authority of *Varro* and *Livy*, perſuade us throughly, that the Wood of the *Vallum* was form'd in another manner: But in the beginning of the foremention'd Pillar, we find the Wood of that encloſed Place ſharpen'd in the ſame manner, and it likewiſe ſurrounds the military Magazines in an oval Form. Beſides, 'tis certain, that the Soldiers in that War had ſomething elſe to do than to build Amphitheatres; and, indeed, oval and round Figures, ſeen on thoſe worn-out Stones, may be apply'd to too great a number of things: Nor will any [who knows the extrayagant Irregularities often found in the Works of the Ancients, with regard to Proportion or Perſpective] venture to determine any thing about them. Wherefore one muſt not truſt too much either to the height or bigneſs of the like Figures, as they appear there.

In ſome Medals of Silver is to be ſeen a Figure not unlike that already mentioned on *Trajan*'s Pillar, tho' ſomewhat nearer reſembling an Amphitheatre: The Reverſe of which would ſurely be ſo judged, if the Legend

Legend did not make it appear otherwiſe; and the round Figure here repreſented, had not been called a *Prætorian Camp*, by the Antiquaries who firſt obſerv'd it; and for which reaſon it bears that Name till this day. But before we begin to treat about it, I ſhall give another here, which, in my Opinion, repreſents the ſame thing; and what remains of the Circuit, ſeems to have prepared the way to them. Upon it is the Head of *Fulvius Julius Quietus*, who is reckoned among the Tyrants; and of whom no *Greek* Medal had ever before been ſeen, but only an *Egyptian* Coin regiſtrated by *P. Banduri*. That the Reverſe does not figure out any *Prætorian*, or any other Camp or Paliſade, as is believed of ſome other Medals like it, is manifeſt, by finding Walls and Towers, and ſumptuous Gates thereon, and by our underſtanding from the Word below, that the City of *Nicea* is repreſented there. Another *Greek* Medal, which had never before been ſeen of *Macrianus*, Brother of *Quietus*, was publiſhed by Signor *Haym*, a *Roman* in his *Teſoro Britannico:* it is likewiſe ſtruck in the ſame City, having the like Figure upon it. It is very natural to think, that the Walls and Gates of *Nicea* were repaired (to which the Citizens alluded by ſuch Coins) during the War with *Perſia*, in which *Quietus* behaved ſo gallantly.

How-

However, round or oval Enclosures are seen in the forementioned Medals of Silver, which [as far as was possible to be represented in so small a Space] much more resembles an Amphitheatre, than other Figures that are taken for such Buildings, tho' indeed they are commonly explain'd as representing *Prætorian Camps*. Such kinds of Figures on Medals, began to appear in the Time of *Diocleſian*. Before the Gate of the Enclosure ſtand four Men, in a military Habit; two of them in the Attitude of ſacrificing on an Altar, the others have a Tripode in the Middle. The ſame Reverſe is on a Coin of *Maximianus Herculeius*, who, together with *Diocleſian*, was Emperor; likewiſe in that of *Galerius* and *Conſtans*, who at the ſame time were *Cæſars*. Three different Legends are found on a Medal, on which are all their Heads engraven; the Inſcription is thus, *Providentia Auguſtorum*, *Virtus Militum*, *Victoria Sarmatica*. So that as there were no Amphitheatres at that time, notwithſtanding the Appearance of them; neither do I believe, that on thoſe Coins are repreſented either *Prætorian* Camps in *Rome*, or *Campeſtrian* in War. The Walls figured out on them are either oval or round, but the *Roman Vallum* [which was not a Stone Wall, nor Towers, but of Earth, like the Entrenchments in this preſent Age] was ſquare, as may very well be

be gathered from *Polybius*. The *Prætorian* Camps were made near the Walls of *Rome*, in imitation of the Encampments for the Army in War, and of a ſquare Form, as appears by their Remains, obſerved by *Panvinius*; or at leaſt, as ſuch they were ſeen in his Time, between the *Viminal* and *Tiburtine* Gates, in the Place where the *Vivarium* is thought to have been. From the ſquare Figure of the Remains of thoſe Walls [18] *P. Donato* was confirmed in the Belief, that they had been *Prætorian* Camps. On the other hand, the figures of Cities are found impreſſed in that manner upon Medals; namely, with a round Encloſure, as is ſeen in the *Colonia Caſilinum* in *Cæſar*'s Coins, which ſeem'd to *Mezzabarba* to be a ſpherical Building, with Towers at Intervals, as the City *Tuſculana* appears in the Coins of the *Sulpician* Family, refer'd to by *Urſinus*. I therefore think, that the forementioned Medals have not *Prætorian* Camps repreſented on them, as has hitherto been interpreted; but on that Coin of *Nicea*, no leſs than a whole City is figured out, either as having been ſubdued in War, [as is denoted by the Words, *Virtus Militum Victoria Sarmatica*] or as reſtored and fortified anew; which is pointed out by that other, with the Legend, *Providentia Auguſtorum*. Nor could any boaſt of the *Sarmatic* Victo-

[18] *L.* 1. *c.* 15.

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ry with so much Justice, as those forementioned Princes; on account of whose Expeditions, *Eumenius*, in his Panegyric on *Constans* says, that that Nation was almost destroyed. And since such an Impression is no where else seen but on those four who reign'd together, and are found with all those Motto's in every one of them, 'tis therefore probable, that the four Figures there, represent the two Emperors, and both the *Cæsars*: And by the Sacrifice or Dedication of the Building, or the rendering Thanks for the Victory, is denoted the Conjunction or Concord among them, attributing to the [19] whole that which every one of them had perform'd.

The Conjecture I have made, that on these Coins the *Prætorian* Camps were not represented, but only the Cities, seems to be confirmed by that Medal in the second Plate here annexed, which till now had never been seen; where the Words shew, that by the same Type the City of *Verona* is represented. And here I shall first of all give an account how this Momument of Antiquity fell lately by chance into my hands. While I was searching among the Collections of Medals in *Venice*, in order to see if any other Legend could be found with that Impression, besides those three already mentioned, I earnestly begg'd of my courteous Friend, the

[19] *Vopis. in carin. Quatuor sane Principes unum in Republica sentientes.*

Abbot

Abbot *Onorio Arrigoni*, to look into his vaſt Collection, among which are thoſe of Plate the ſecond; all which that worthy Gentleman keeps not only for his own Amuſement, but with a noble Deſign thereby to promote Learning. Among the many and particular Series's collected by him, he has 800 Medlas of *Colony*'s, 1500 *Greek* Coins, and 1200 *Egyptian*; which laſt, if I can, ſome time or another, have but leiſure to publiſh, I am not out of hope but that Chronology in general will thereby receive ſome new Light. The next day that Gentleman brought me eight Medals of Silver, having all the ſame Reverſe: among the others, the Coin we have hinted at, the Singularity of the Legend of which he then only wonder'd at, notwithſtanding it had long before been ſold him among a heap of others of Silver, without having obſerved it, or judging it of greater value than what it barely weighed. This Circumſtance immediately gave credit to its Genuineneſs, ſince a ſpurious Coin could not have been made, but with a deſign to impoſe on the World, and to gain by it. The good Opinion concerning its being genuine, was moreover confirmed by all who took a view of the Medal, and the Agreement of that which it contained. The Head is of *Galerius Maximus*, who, together with *Conſtantius Chlorus*, was made *Cæſar*, by the two Emperors, *Anno* 302. The Legend on the Reverſe

verſe I read thus, *Verona Nova Porta rite condita.* Scarce was *Conſtans* made *Cæſar*, but he was ſent into *Gaul:* Concerning *Galerius*, not any thing is mentioned for a long time by Hiſtorians; I only find that he fought with the *Sarmatians*, and built Caſtles among them; and yet we ſee Coins of him with his Image, and the Words, *Victoria Sarmatica* thereon; and where, as we have ſaid, are Cities or Caſtles repreſented. He alſo was in the Wars in *Germany*, ſo that 'tis credible he paſſed ſeveral times through *Italy*, tho' we do not find it mentioned, except in the Year 304, when he came to confer with *Maximian* the Elder at *Milan*; and yet nothing ſeems to be more natural, than to imagine that in his Paſſage or Stay at *Verona*, he erected a new Gate there. *Gallienus*, not long before, had built new Walls, with a ſumptuous Gate, which ſubſiſts till this day: the Inſcription thereon being ſtill to be ſeen, and as that Work was perform'd in very great haſte, as appears by that Inſcription, ſo it is probable that another Gate may have remained imperfect, and afterwards compleated by the Emperor *Maximian.* *Aurelius Victor* hints at ſeveral Walls re-built by *Maximian* in various Cities, among others thoſe of *Milan.* Our Gate, as the Inſcription denotes, was erected *rite, viz.* according to the Rite preſcrib'd in the Pagan Religion, and with thoſe *Auſpicia* required in

building Walls and Gates of Cities; which, as we find in *Justinian*'s Institutes, were then [20] esteemed sacred things. The Sacrifice however, as appears by the Medal already thereon, was perform'd after the new Gate had been made, and at its Entry, according to the usual Rites, which denotes its Dedication; that is, they declared the Work was perfected, and that they began with the Favour of the Gods to make use of it. And indeed, its agreement with History, as well as the Ceremony and Words used here, seem very much above the knowledge of the Falsifiers of Coins, who, as the good Providence of God will have it, are, for the most part, Idiots and ignorant Fellows: It being observ'd, that as soon as they send any of their Performances abroad into the World, they are commonly attended with some Blunder or other of their own making. To which we may add, that it is not at all probable, that any Person feigning the Representation of a City by the Words round the Coin, would have made Choice of a Medal, the Impression on which hitherto has not been taken for a City, but always a Prætorian Camp. Nor ought it to be regarded, that by the Impression itself several Cities are represented on such Medals, one in *Italy*, another in *Sarmatia*, and others we know not where. For as in

[20] *De Rer. Div. l.* 2. *Sancta quoque res veluti muri & portæ Civitatis.*

the

the lower Ages the Legend on Medals did not often allude to a particular Fact, as they did in the higher, ſince by mere flattery the Motto was apply'd in common to any of the Emperors; ſo did they often make uſe of the ſame Impreſſions variouſly: The Figures in the Medals of *Conſtantine*, which are in the ſame Attitude and Clothing, ſometimes denote *France*, ſometimes *Germany*. A Repreſentation which comes near this we are now deſcribing, namely, with a Wall, and a Gate, but without the four Figures, and made likewiſe to reſemble a City or Caſtle; not Prætorian Camps, as 'tis interpreted, and not Magazines, as ſome others would lately have it underſtood: Such an Impreſſion on a Medal, I ſay, begins to be ſeen in the time of *Conſtantius Chlorus*, and continues even to the time of *Criſpus*; being the Reverſe of, at leaſt, ten different Heads, and with the ſame Legend, *Providentia*, *Virtus*, ſometimes *Militum*, at others *Auguſtorum* or *Cæſarum*. And 'tis undoubtedly certain, that tho' the Form is the ſame, yet the City reſtored or fortify'd, or, if you pleaſe, the Caſtle denoted, for the moſt part are different one from the other. The ſame Impreſſion we find on the Coins of *Valentinian*, of *Magnus Maximus*, and of *Flavius Victor*, but with a different Inſcription. By which is confirm'd, how very much thoſe People have been miſtaken, who take ſuch Figures for Præ-

torian Camps, since in those days no such thing was in use, having been destroy'd by *Constantine* after his Victory over *Maxentius*, and the Prætorian Bands, which had been favourable to him, as [21] *Zosimus* says, were abolished.

The military Quarters, not the Prætorian, might only perhaps be represented by such an Impression, inasmuch as the fix'd Quarters or Garisons placed in the Enemy's Frontiers, were like Castles, whence the words *Castrum* and *Castellum* had their Origine. And such may have been those *Castra Præsidiaria*, mention'd by [22] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to have been built by *Valentinian* on the other side the *Danube*. *Victor* mentions Camps to have been made, even from *Trajan*'s time, *in the Places most suspected*. As to my own Belief, that what was represented on the Coin of *Verona* and others, was the Gate of a City and not a Camp; a Difficulty occur'd to me at first therein: namely, when I observ'd that the Gates of ancient Cities were made double, like ours of *Gallienus* in *Verona*, and as 'tis shewn on the Medals of *Emerita*, a City in *Spain*, and *Castilinum*, already mentioned.

But all Gates were, I find, not built in that manner, a Proof of which we may see by the first Medal, whereon the Gate of *Nice*

[21] *Lib.* 2. [22] *Lib.* 29. *c.* 6.

is

is represented, and is like that already mentioned, with only one Door. We may also observe the third Coin in the same Plate, namely, in that of *Gordianus Pius*, where one of the Gates of *Adrianople* is likewise represented ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. And that we may learn how they were variously built, I present you with one, in a manner never before observed, namely with three Doors or Entries, *viz.* that of *Nicopolis* of *Epirus*, on the Coin of *Hadrian*, ΙΕΡΑC ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩC. Those who have Knowledge in Antiquity will, on the first View, perhaps take it for an Arch, and not a Gate; and they might truly believe it such, because of its having three Apertures, if the four Windows above, and the two Towers on its sides, did not put it beyond all doubt that it is the Gate of a City. In *Serlio* we find the ancient Gate of *Spello*, delineated by him, has two such Towers also, and is acknowledged to be antique, tho' in a modern manner restored and repaired.

That of *Emerita* shews likewise two lateral Towers, for which reason *Spanheim* and *Patin* believed it to be a Castle; and in like manner do they figure out on Coins the Gates of the Citys of *Nicopolis* on the *Danube*, and that of *Trajan*, namely, *Trajanopolis*.

A new Remark occurs naturally here, in order to confirm that all the above-mention'd Medals do not represent in any other way

the Prætorian Quarters. Thoſe Quarters had certainly the Gates double, namely, with two Entries. That other Gates beſides thoſe of the City were built, where a vaſt number of People were to paſs, is plain by the Remains of another double Gate, a great part of which is ſtanding till this day in *Verona*, and which, we are certain, never had been a Gate of that City. That thoſe of the Prætorian Camp were ſuch, I learn from that Medal, which, in my Opinion, is the only one that ſhews it; I ſay the only one, ſince I do not ſee it delineated on other Coins, where one would think it would be more proper: ſuch as in thoſe of the *Allocutions* to the *Armies*, in the Donatives diſtributed by the Emperor to the Soldiers, and where the Title of *Pater*, or *Mater Caſtrorum*, is given. The Medal in which it is ſeen, is that of *Claudius*, where is a Wall with a double Gate, and the Legend in the middle, *Imperatore recepto*; indicating, that the Soldiers after the Death of *Caligula* found *Claudius* in the place where he lay hid, whence carrying him to the Camp or military Quarters, they proclaimed him Emperor, as we learn from *Suetonius* and *Dio*; and indeed, were what is impreſſed on the forementioned Medals Prætorian Camps, a double Door would certainly appear.

No Exception, I think, then can be found againſt our Medal; for the Authenticity of

which, one other Accident did in ſome meaſure contribute. As ſoon as it was found, a certain ingenious Artiſt fell to work on a Coin of *Conſtans*, which had the ſame Reverſe, where having raz'd out the old Letters, he found a Method to put in the Word *Verona*. This Counterfeit I willingly bought myſelf, not becauſe I was cheated, as he who ſold it me imagin'd, but that I might, by comparing it with my own, make it ſerve to confirm the Genuineneſs of the latter. The Difference in the Characters on them, their Size, Sharpneſs, Incavity, and Form, beſides the Alteration of the Field, appearing very evident to thoſe who have but a middling Skill in ſuch things. By this Incident we may alſo learn, that it was impoſſible to make any new Inſcription in the Contour of the Medal ſo long, but that the very Weight of the Coin would ſhew the Cheat; ſince in that which was counterfeited, in order to evade this, they have only put in the word *Verona*, and in the other part ſhewn, as if the Medal had been ſpoil'd and mutilated. But, beſides this new Confirmation, the Opinion of the beſt Judges of Medals is in Favour of it, who have been allow'd to examine it as long as they pleaſed. On it the ancient Stamp is evident, and the Medal ſtands the Teſt of the Weight; for being put into a nice Pair of Gold Scales, when compared with other Medals of the like kind, it was

found without the leaſt difference; whereas to take away the old Letters, and likewiſe to diminiſh the Field, in order to make new, which is the only Fraud that might be ſuſpected, this could not be done without diminiſhing the Weight ſenſibly.

I doubt not but ſome will wonder, that notwithſtanding all theſe Proofs, I ſhould ſtill ſpeak with a kind of Reſerve, and not confidently aſſert what may be drawn from the whole: But this proceeds from one of my Maxims, from whence I have never departed, nor ſhall I ever; and it is this, Not to found an Opinion, or a new Diſcovery, on the Faith of one Medal, tho' none ſhould oppoſe it; eſpecially when ſuch an Opinion differs from what has been already received by the World. And this made me eſtabliſh the Pleaſure I took in ſeveral Cities to compare the ableſt Connoiſſeurs in Medals, and ſome reckoned infallible, one with another, where I have many times found them diſagreeing: and likewiſe have ſeen, that there are none, but who ſome time or other have erred. For after I underſtood how many ſurprizing and various ways the Falſifiers of Medals have freely put in practice, this is the only Crime that we ſee permitted to paſs with Impunity; notwithſtanding Thieving, in this Caſe, is often join'd with Treachery and a pernicious Subverſion of Hiſtory, and of every other moſt important

important Branch of Knowledge. 'Tis not, however, on this account, that I have the leaſt Inclination to doubt about the Genuineneſs of every Medal; but as the Legend of that we have been deſcribing is entirely new, with reſpect to a City of *Italy*, ſo I ſhall not regard, nor take any pains about it, unleſs I ſhould happen to publiſh it at another Opportunity. It ſhall, however, be in my own hands, and always offered to the Examination of the Curious; Signor *Arrigone*, the Abbot, having made me a Preſent thereof, as 'tis his Cuſtom to be liberal to his Friends.

But let us at length put an end to this Digreſſion, if we will call it ſo, ſince it is intended to make us know that we ought not on account of the Roundneſs of Buildings in Monuments of Antiquity, to conclude or imagine, that they are the Remains of Amphitheatres, eſpecially that which is repreſented on the forementioned Medals. Beſides, for the better illuſtrating the Hiſtory of the *Veroneſe Arena*, it was neceſſary to be particular therein, in order to come at the true Meaning of what is repreſented on the foreſaid Coin of the Emperor *Maximian*, ſince it is the current Opinion of many, that that Building was erected in the Reigns of both the *Maximians*. Nor would ſome be wanting, who [by Reckoning the Impreſſion on the Medal a repreſentation of an Amphitheatre,] might have been ſtill confirmed in that falſe Opinion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Amphitheatres out of Rome, *of which till this day evident Remains do ſubſiſt.*

THE Cities which, beſides *Rome*, have, [according to univerſal Obſervation and Belief, handed down to us for Ages,] till this day famous Remains of *Arena's* in them, are reduced to four, namely, *Verona*, *Capua*, *Pola* and *Nimes*: Yet what ſhould we ſay, if I ſhould except againſt ſome of theſe few? And yet it muſt be ſo, for when I took the pains to go myſelf to *Pola*, I diſcovered evidently, that the ancient Building there was nothing elſe but a magnificent Theatre; which Particular, I ſhall clearly prove in Book the ſecond, where it ſhall be deſcribed. If I was to give credit to certain Marks, and ſome particular Obſervations communicated to me about that of *Nimes*, by a Perſon who had been ſome days in that City, I ſhould incline to think it no Amphitheatre at all: For in effect it appears to have only conſiſted of two Stories, and has no Numbers engraven on the Arches; and, as deſcrib'd in the [1] *Antiquities explain'd*, it has no Windows in the higher part of the

[1] C. 3. p. 266.

Build-

Building: and Father *Montfaucon* himſelf confeſſes, that it differs from other Amphitheatres, and has Doors inſtead of Stairs; but as I have not ſeen it, I ſhall therefore not preſume to affirm any thing about it, but leave it at preſent, and that of *Pola* too: which laſt was a Theatre very different from the common Sort, with regard to its Architecture; and more ſumptuous than the others, having the external Circuit like that of an Amphitheatre. But as I have by Examination found, how very rare Amphitheatres have been, this excites my Curioſity the more to know the Hiſtory of thoſe abovementioned, eſpecially that of *Verona*, which, next to the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, is the largeſt of any, and of which we have undertaken to treat in particular: but as bad Fortune would have it, no very certain account can well be learned of either that or the other; nor can we preciſely aſcertain when or by whom they were made, there being neither Writers nor Monuments of Antiquity, which give us light therein, or that mention any thing about them, unleſs we except that of *Capua*, becauſe of the Fragment of an Inſcription publiſhed laſt Year about it. That we find no account of them in antient Hiſtorians, is not to be wonder'd at, ſince they took no care about what was done in the *Municipia*; we ought rather to wonder, that the large Inſcription [which, according to the common Uſage, was placed on

on the Front of Amphitheatres, above the principal Entry] has not been found, nor that of *Rome*, or the others ever publiſhed to the World: And indeed it ſeems to be a kind of Fatality, that the Inſcriptions of the greateſt Works of any, ſhould for the moſt part be loſt; tho' there is no doubt but that ſuch Inſcriptions have formerly been made, ſince we learn from [a] *Plutarch*, that the Theatre made and dedicated by *Auguſtus*, was by his Order, in the Inſcription, attributed to *Marcellus*; and we know from *Dio*, that in another Inſcription, upon a ſumptuous *Portico* built likewiſe by him, he cauſed the Name of *Livy* to be mentioned. On the Theatre of *Pompey* there was at firſt, the memory of him, and on the Scene, that of *Tiberius*, who had rebuilt it; both theſe Inſcriptions were replaced by *Claudius*, when he reſtored the Theatre: and upon this account he himſelf ſet up a third, to ſerve for a Dedication.

As to the Inſcription placed by *Trajan* in the *Circus Maximus*, after he had repaired and enlarged it, the Hiſtorian mentions what it contain'd; namely, that he had made the Fabrick capable to accommodate the People of *Rome*. The Uſe of Inſcriptions was common in publick Edifices, not only when firſt built, but when repaired. So

[a] *Plut. in Marc.*

Au-

Augustus, in the [3] *Lapis Ancyranus*, expressed it as a Singularity, that he had made and repaired several Works without placing any Inscription, with his Name thereon. And *Spartianus* observed with wonder, that *Severus*, when he repaired the publick Edifices, scarce in any of them did he put his Name, but only left them to preserve the Memory of their first Builders. One remark we may make here before we proceed, and it is this, That any one of the four Cities above mention'd, may not only boast of their Amphitheatres or Theatres, with the external Circuit, like that of Amphitheatres, but also of such other Remains of ancient Magnificence and Grandeur, as greatly exceed that of other Cities: Ours of *Verona*, perhaps abounds therein more than any of the others. *Capua* has the Remains of an Arch not far from the Amphitheatre, and near the Tower of St. *Erasmus*; as the Canon *Mazochio* avers, there are the Vestiges of a Theatre also. As to that of *Nimes* in *France*, 'tis sufficient to see *Serlio*'s Epistle to *Francis* the First, prefixed to his third Book. This Author affirms, that at that time there was an Arch enrich'd with Ornaments, a *Corinthian* Temple, a magnificent *Aqueduct* of three Orders, one above the other. [4] *Causabon* calls it a Bridge, and

[3] *Gr. pag.* 232. *Sine ulla Inscriptione Nominis Mei.*
[4] *Ad Spart.*

mentions

mentions the Ruins of a Palace with three Orders alſo; and of beautiful Structure with a *Cupola* at the top, ſupported with ten fluted Pillars of the *Corinthian* Order; this laſt may perhaps have been the *Baſilica* of *Plotina*, built at *Nimes* by order of *Hadrian*, and mentioned by *Spartianus*, to have been of *admirable Workmanſhip*. That it had the reſemblance of a Temple, the Building it ſelf inclines us to believe. [5] *Xiphiline* alſo mentions it by that Name; near it were two Octangular Turrets, which ſhews us how the Ancients fortify'd. Beſides, there were alſo ſeveral Statues, and Inſcriptions in abundance. *Palladio* has been pleaſed alſo to give us a minute Deſcription of two other ancient Temples in *Nimes*. What regards *Pola*, ſhall be mentioned in another Place; it being ſufficient here to ſay, that till this Day, not only one, but ſeveral Remains of ancient Buildings are ſubſiſting there, of ſuch Beauty and ſo well preſerved, that ſcarcely can their Elegancy be conceived, but by thoſe who have ſeen them.

From thoſe Ruins, with ſuch eloquent Inſcriptions, we learn, that which cannot be well comprehended from thoſe few entirely Jejune Writers of the Things out of *Rome*; namely, that thoſe Cities, in the firſt Ages of the Empire, were famous and great, ſince in every one of them [the better to e-

[5] *In Hadr.*

vince

vince that they were at that time more magnificent than many others, which afterwards exceeded them] we find that beſides the Amphitheatre, there was a great number of other noble Remains of ſumptuous Buildings. How eaſy is it then to ſee in what manner modern Writers are deceived, who, full of modern Ideas, have their Eyes ſo dazzled, that they confound the Syſtem of the Times of the Empire after *Conſtantine*, with the higher Ages; not eſteeming any antient City as great, unleſs it made a conſiderable Figure in the latter Times? But that thoſe Cities, in the earlier Ages, were by far greater than many of the others, which afterwards were much enlarged, and that the Splendor of the latter began not until the magnificent Edifices of the *Pagans* were out of uſe; the above-mention'd Marbles are irrefragable Proofs: For I would gladly know, by what occult Cauſe could ſo many Remains of famous Buildings have been preſerved in the Cities which had Amphitheatres? inſomuch that therein they exceed all the others, *Rome* excepted; and yet no ſuch Monuments of Antiquity appear preſerved in thoſe other Cities, which, according to the vulgar Opinion, [for ſo I muſt call it] had formerly publick Structures, they ſay, both more vaſt, and in greater abundance, than thoſe we have been ſpeaking about? What is *Nimes*, ſays [6] *Lipſius*, in compa-

[6] *Cap. 5.*

riſon

riſon of the other great Cities of *France?* To this I anſwer, If *Nimes* was ſo ſmall a Town, why was it diſtinguiſhed by its Coins above all the other Cities of *Gaul* in *Auguſtus*'s Time? That moſt beautiful Medal, tho' a common one, whereon is the Head of that Emperor and *Agrippina*, is marked with the Attribute of a Colony. [7]*Triſtanus* refers to ſuch another in the ſame Age: Beſides, why did they give *Nimes* the Title of *Colonia Auguſta?* And why, among ſo many other Cities, did [8] *Hadrian* make choice of it for building a magnificent *Baſilica* to *Plotina?* Why likewiſe in the lower Ages was one of the three Mints of *France* erected in *Nimes*, which, as we find in the *Notitia Imperii*, had its particular Superintendent? 'Twould be ſuperfluous to mention what *Verona* and *Capua* have been in former Ages. In what condition the firſt was in the time of *Auguſtus*, is clearly ſhewn by a Paſſage of *Strabo*, which makes it at that time equal to *Milan*; and calls the other Towns, like thoſe of *Mantua* and *Breſcia* in its Neighbourhood, tho' large in themſelves, but inconſiderable Places in compariſon of *Verona*. Some Perſons of undoubted Veracity have often told me, that they have ſeen the Remains of an Amphitheatre on the Outſide of *Frejus* in *Provence*: That I own might perhaps have been, and

[7] *Gr.* 323. 5. [8] *Spart. in Had.*

with

with more certainty too than any other they can boaſt of in *France*. *Serlio* likewiſe mentions it, and ſpeaks of the Remains of another *Roman* Building there reſembling a Palace. [9] *Pliny*, ſpeaking of thoſe Parts of *Gaul*, ſays, they looked liker *Italy* continued, than a Province; beſides, the maritime City there was called, *Colonia Julia*, and *Colonia Illuſtris*, in which *Romans* conſtantly reſided, and from whence *Auguſtus* ſent the Ships called *Roſtratæ*, taken in the Battle of *Actium*; and there, as we learn from [10] *Tacitus*, did an armed Fleet lie, in the ſame manner as in *Meſſina* and *Ravenna*.

If we intirely admit of the Supplement and Interpretation given to an Inſcription lately dug up near the Amphitheatre of *Capua* [excepting that of *Rome*] it is the only one we know which indicates the Perſon by whom, and the time when it was erected; namely, of having been built by the Community of the Colony of *Capua*, a little after that of *Titus* was repaired and adorned by the Emperor *Hadrian*, and dedicated by *Antoninus Pius*. The truth is, the Canon *Mazochio* has ſhewn himſelf a Perſon of Genius and Erudition, both in ſupplying the Defects of the Inſcription, and in explaining its Meaning: nor is any thing in that Supplement but may be received with Approbation; only he uſes the Word *Imagines*, where,

[9] *L. 3. c. 4. Italia verius quam Provincia.* [10] *Ann. L. 4.*

I think, another would ſuit better with the Paſſage. There was not methinks any other City which could vie ſo well with that of *Rome*, with regard to its wonderful Pile of the Amphitheatre of *Titus*, as *Capua*, in its Neighbourhood; either on account of the Greatneſs and Wealth of that City, or the Deſire and Delight its Inhaibtants had, and that even of old, for Gladiatory Shews. Nor indeed can we think on any Emperor which more probably reſtored and ornamented it than *Hadrian*; ſince none erected ſo many Buildings out of *Rome* as he, inſomuch that *Spartian* ſpeaks as if he had built in every City. Nor ought we to regard its having been dedicated by his Succeſſor, and not by him; ſince 'tis probable he might have only begun the repairing of it in his latter Days. The Pillars which in the Inſcription are ſaid to have been added, would appear, I own, rather to agree to the Deſcription of a Theatre than an Amphitheatre: But as to this it has been very well adverted to, that they might have been placed in the *Antiporta* or Lodge; nor does it alter the caſe very much, if we imagine, that the Inſcription was made at the time of its Dedication, ſince after conſiderable Reparations, 'twas uſual, both to place freſh Inſcriptions on ſuch Buildings, and often to dedicate them anew, in order that they might be put to uſe; as we learn from *Dio*, in that Place

where

where we were ſpeaking of the Theatre of *Pompey:* but in this is marked both its firſt Erection, by the People of *Capua*, and perhaps by theſe Words, A SOLO FECIT, which expreſſed, in the Lapidary Stile, that it was built from its very Foundation: likewiſe in it is mentioned, its being reſtored, and the Ornaments added thereto, and its new Dedication.

As to the Edifice at *Pola* and *Nimes*, we have no manner of hint about either of them in antient Monuments or Writers: tho' the Cuſtom which *Hadrian* had to build every where, particularly at *Nimes*, furniſhes us with a Conjecture, that the Fabrick at the latter might have been erected by him. But as *Spartianus*, in his Life, mentions the *Baſilica* built by him in this Place, why then did he not ſpeak of the Amphitheatre, which was a much greater Work? *Capitolinus*, in the Beginning of the Life of *Antoninus Pius*, affirms, that Emperor derived his Origin from the ſaid City; for which reaſon *Caſaubon* imagined, that he built the *Arena* there; but if ſo great a Work had been performed by an Emperor, why is the *Hiſtoria Auguſta* ſilent therein? and the rather, ſince *Spartianus* has not neglected to mention another Edifice erected at *Nimes* by another Emperor: But let us, at length, come to that of *Verona*.

CHAP. XIII.

An Eſſay on the Age and Builder of the Veroneſe Arena.

WITH regard to the Time in which we may believe our *Arena* at *Verona* was built, the Writers are divided between two Opinions. Some have imagin'd it the Work of *Auguſtus*; of theſe was *Torello Sariana*, who was perſuaded therein from having read ſuch an Account in an ancient *Chronica*, and in the *Itinerary* of *Cyriacus Anconitanus*, who lived in the fifteenth Age; likewiſe becauſe *Suetonius* writes, that *Auguſtus* adorned *Italy* with Buildings. [1] Father *Mabillon* was alſo of this Opinion: Others have believed it the Work of *Maximian*; among the firſt of ſuch was [2] *Sigonius*, in his Book *de Imperio Occidentali*; who was induced to imagine it ſo, only becauſe the Builder thereof was unknown; and by erroneouſly ſuppoſing, that *Maximian* erected a Palace at *Breſcia* and another in *Aquileia*: and this piece of Credulity was received by many, and even refer'd to by *Lydiat*, in his chronological Series. But as both theſe Conjectures do not ſtand on any ſolid Foundation, I'm of opi-

[1] *It. Ital. p.* 25. [2] *Lib.* 1.

nion,

nion, that the one makes its Æra too early, the other too late. The Architecture thereof might, I own, much easier incline us to believe it to have been built in the time of *Augustus* than *Maximian*; the whole appearing to have been rather the Work of the Ages wherein Elegancy in the Arts was prevalent, than when they were not: And indeed, the *Tuscan* Order in all the Stories thereof, seems to indicate its Antiquity. Besides, *Augustus* having brought Water into *Brescia*, as appears by an Inscription, shews that he promoted the Works in those Parts where the Palace of *Maximian* in *Brescia* and *Aquileia* are meerly supposed to have been; since the Panegyrist quoted by *Sigonius* alone, speaks not of any thing else but of a Picture, placed by [3] *Maximian* in the Palace of *Aquileia*. Yet for all this, I cannot be induced to believe, that an Amphitheatre wholly of Stone, and of such Architecture, was ever built in any Colony in *Augustus*'s time, before any such Fabric had been seen in *Rome*, and before that of *Titus* (an Original for the others to copy from) was erected. It seems also credible, that this would, on some Occasion or other, have been mentioned by *Pliny*, who speaks of Pictures and things of less consequence than it, to have been in several places of his native Country. *Lipsius*, methinks, derides

[3] *Insc. Pan.*

the Reaſons alledg'd by the good *Sariana*, a little too ſeverely, for judging it erected by *Auguſtus:* And, indeed, from the ſame Page in *Lipſius*, one may learn a Caution to overlook with Humanity, and to pardon mutually the Miſtakes of others: Since, as great a Genius as he was, he himſelf as well as *Sariana*, erroneouſly cites the Epiſtle of [4] *Pliny*, as if addreſs'd to *Maximus Africanus*, becauſe he had read *vellem Africane quas coemeras*, when it is evident that it ſhould be read *Africanae*, as alluding to the Panthers of *Africa*. *Celius* writing to [5] *Cicero*, ſpeaks of thoſe Animals of *Africa* brought there, and of ten being given to be uſed in the Games; ſo that it appears, from what is ſaid before, that he ſpeaks of Panthers: as does [6] *Livy*, and the other [7] *Pliny*, [8] *Suetonius* and others.

Beſides the Opinion, that the Amphitheatre was built by *Maximian*, ſeems very inconſiſtent with the Circumſtances of Affairs at that time. The Empire was then in confuſion, *Italy* itſelf ſorely afflicted, and the Cities there, eſpecially thoſe like *Verona*, ſituated on the Frontiers, in dread of the Incurſions threatned and begun by the Barbarians. Arts, beſides, were then in great Decay; and the ancient Ideas of the oppreſs'd *Municipia* quite out of mind. Moreover, the

[4] *Lib. 6. Ep. ult.*
[5] *Fam. l. 8. Epiſt. 8. & 9.*
[6] *Liv. l. 44.*
[7] *Pl. l. 8. cap. 17.*
[8] *Suet. cal. 18. ch. 21.*

Christian Religion, which then was diffused every where, and not long after triumphant, would scarcely have allow'd People to have effected a Work like that, which sprung from the Religion of the Pagans; and the rather, since in the Amphitheatres had been acted a constant Scene of Cruelty, having become places for Martyrdom. But what need we say any more on this head? We have, I think, a very sure Proof, that before *Maximine*, namely, in *Gallienus*'s time, not only was our *Arena* already built, but began to be in decay. A Confirmation of this appears in the many Pieces of the ancient Walls of *Verona*, erected in the time of *Gallienus*; since in them I have observ'd Stones, not only of the Quality, Colour, and Form with those of the Amphitheatre, but are known by certain Marks, to have been formerly belonging to the external Circuit of that Structure there. [9] *Sariana* affords a notable Confirmation of this, where he avers, that he had seen some of those Stones with the Numbers which had been engraven on the Key-Stones of all the lower Arches. Nor is there any thing that renders it in the least incredible, that the exterior part of that Fabric began so soon to be ruinous. And, indeed, whether the Foundation was ill laid, or was defective on account of the Place, or so on account of its being a Building

[9] P. 23. *In ipsis muris nonnullæ Amphitheatri tabulæ cum numeris, &c.*

all arch'd from top to bottom, where a great part was conſequently empty, as a certain Architect aſſerts. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the Amphitheatre of *Catania*, in the time of *Theodoric*, was likewiſe, for the moſt part, fallen down; and *Caſſiodorus* aſſures us, that the Stones thereof were made uſe of to repair the Walls there, and yet the Building was not demoliſhed by Earthquakes, but [10] by Time: From whence, at leaſt, it appears, that they were ancient Buildings, notwithſtanding they did not for many Ages remain intire. Beſides, the Theatre of *Pompey*, in the time of *Theodoric*, ſeem'd alſo inclining towards Ruin, and liable to fall [11] ſuddenly, had they not found a Means to keep it up with large Supports or Buttreſſes and Pilaſters.

The Deſire I myſelf had of diſcovering with Certainty, the preciſe time when, and by whom, the Amphitheatre was made, excited me to dig in the Places where I had the greateſt Chance for finding Inſcriptions; and tho' I have not been ſo happy as to ſucceed therein, yet I met with two halfs of Letters, which joined to a larger piece of Stone, with an Inſcription, dug up out of the Well, in the middle made out . *S. Con.* That theſe Characters belong'd to the Inſcription which had been formerly placed in the

[10] *Var. l. 3. c. 49. Longa vetuſtate collapſa.*
[11] *Caſſ. Var. l. 4. c. 51. Sive maſculis pilis contineri potuerit.*

Front

Front of the Amphitheatre, is probable on account of their unuſual Size, for the *O* is no leſs than eleven Inches in Diameter, correſpondent with the others. But from this I ſhall not pretend even to give my Gueſſes, nor aſſert that they muſt be underſtood *Senatus Conſulto*, as is commonly underſtood by *S. C.* One thing I may however venture to ſay, that the Form and Beauty of thoſe Letters indicate them engraven in an Age when Arts flouriſh'd, and not in latter times. I don't ſpeak of that ſo fooliſhly falſify'd Inſcription, which makes our Amphitheatre the work of *Flaminius* a Conſul, and which *Caroto* and *Leandro Alberti* publiſh'd, as if ſtill exiſting at *Lucca*, a place where it never had been. And the truth is, in the ſeveral Books where the Impoſture has appeared, it has been but very indifferently received by the Learned.

Hadrian's peculiar Cuſtom of erecting Fabricks out of *Rome*, might incline us to have an eye on him as the Builder; but that Epiſtle of *Pliny* the Younger, lately quoted, confirms us in the Belief, that our Amphitheatre was before that Emperor's time; yet as we cannot well ſuppoſe it anterior to that of *Titus*, the whole brings us very near the true time of its Erection.

The foreſaid Letter of *Pliny*, who is believed to have died in the latter part of *Trajan*'s Reign, gives us to underſtand, that by the

the Liberality of a certain great Man, call'd *Maximus*, a ſolemn Amphitheatrical Shew was at that time celebrated in *Verona*: this he did both by way of Honour to the Memory of his deceaſed Spouſe, a Native of that Country, and alſo to gratify the People of *Verona*, by whom he was lov'd and eſteem'd, as indeed they were by him, as *Pliny* informs us. Nay, the ſame *Pliny*, as he was a *Veroneſe* by Adoption, when he ſpeaks of the Inhabitants there, he calls them, [12] *our own People of* Verona.

A vaſt number of Panthers were prepared for the forementioned Shew, tho' becauſe of a Storm which happen'd at Sea in their Paſſage, they arriv'd not from *Africa* in time. Combats of ſo many, and ſo different kinds of Beaſts, indicate as if there were fix'd *Arenæ* in *Italy* at that time. In the Shews of *Curio*, in thoſe alſo of the *Fidentines*, of *Cecinna* and *Valens*, mention'd by *Pliny* and *Tacitus*, all which were exhibited in Amphitheatres of Wood; we have accounts, that in theſe Shews there were Gladiators, but no Wild-Beaſts. 'Tis therefore not incongruous to ſuppoſe this Pile erected in the time of *Domitian* and *Nerva*, or the lateſt time we can think of, to have been in the firſt years of *Trajan*, and to believe that, without delaying further, by the ſaid Building they emu-

[12] *Gladiatorum Munus Veronenſibus, noſtris, &c.*

lated

lated that of *Rome*, which great Example they had to copy from.

'Tis commonly believed, that this Work was carried on at the Expence of ſome Emperor or *Roman* Governor: But if ſuch a magnificent Amphitheatre had been erected by any Emperor, 'tis not to be imagined the Writers of their Lives would have neglected to have mentioned it. *Suetonius* was not ſilent about the Walls and Temples in [13] *Syracuſe*, repaired by *Caligula*; and of the Royal Palace of *Polycrates*, and the Temple of *Apollo*, which that Emperor had a mind to replace in *Miletus* and *Samos*. Nor did *Lampridius* neglect to ſpeak of the *Baſilica* in *Nimes*, or of the Temple and Altar made by *Hadrian* in *Athens*. Whatever Emperor he was who may have erected ſo noble a Fabrick, he would not, according to the uſage of thoſe Times, have neglected the Honour of its Dedication, nor have Writers omitted to ſpeak thereof, ſince *Suetonius* does of the Temple at [14] *Nola*, and the Capitol dedicated by *Tiberius* in *Capua*. Neither can we imagine our Amphitheatre the Work of a Governor, ſince there were no Governors at that time in *Italy*, that Country having not been then reduced to the form of a Province, for every City governed it ſelf; ſo it is moſt likely that the Republick and People of *Verona* were the

[13] *Cap.* 21. [14] *Cap.* 40.

ſole

ſole Undertakers of this Work; and in the Sequel we ſhall ſhew, that a certain *Veroneſe* Citizen built part of the *Portico*, which was join'd to the Place where the Gladiatory Games were exhibited; and for which, he deſired to have the Approbation of the People, and not of any other. So does the Inſcription already mentioned indicate, that the Amphitheatre of *Capua* was erected by the Colony there: Such great Works could the Alliance, and the Participations of the Honours of *Rome*, render other Cities capable of performing! The Expence of ſuch Works was much leſſened, by the great number of Slaves employed therein; and likewiſe upon account of the plenty of Marble in the Neighbourhood of our City; and indeed, if we could come at the deſired Inſcription relating to this Fabrick, thoſe who were the Superintendents, or who preſided at its Erection, would, I doubt not, be known.

I would, above all, if I could, do due juſtice to the Name of the Architect of this ſtately Pile, but we juſt know as much about ours, as we do of the Amphitheatre of *Rome*. One thing I know for certain, that we ſhould not be ignorant about the Architect of either of theſe ſuperb Edifices, had they exiſted when *Pliny* publiſhed his great Work. An old Tradition makes *Vitruvius* a *Veroneſe*, but this we ſhall mention on another

another Occaſion. That *Vitruvius Cerdo*, another famous Architect, was of *Verona*, is very probable; and this we conjecture by the Remains of an Arch which we have of his Workmanſhip; and indeed, whether he built our Amphitheatre or not, I ſhall neither deny nor affirm. The *Roman* Amphitheatre was ſituated in the Middle of the City, ours on the Outſide of the Walls, tho' very near them, and not far from a Gate; and ſo were the others in the *Colonies*; where the antient Space, within the Walls, were but narrow, and the Concourſe of People ſo great, they could not admit of ſuch a Vacancy in thoſe Days, within their Cities, as was requiſite for a Pile of ſuch great Dimenſions as an Amphitheatre.

In digging over againſt the Gate, which in antient Times was the principal and moſt frequented of any, the Foundation of a large Wall was diſcovered, made partly of the Stones of the Amphitheatre, with pieces of Pillars, which humour the curved Figure of that Building, and which ſeem to have ſurrounded it in the part where the Slope was. We can believe this to be nothing elſe, but that in former times they intended to have ſurrounded the Amphitheatre, from the Place where the firſt Wall was built, to that of the ſecond, in ſuch a manner as to compriſe it within the City, that ſo it might not be expoſed, or poſſeſſion taken of it by the Enemy;

Enemy; yet we muſt not imagine, that this happened at the repairing of the Walls by *Gallienus*, becauſe the Thickneſs of them was very much leſs than the others; and likewiſe becauſe the Foundation of thoſe of *Gallienus* goes croſs-wiſe, and ſtraitens the chief Avenue to the Amphitheatre: from whence we may make a probable Conjecture, that the latter were made after the ancient Cuſtom of Amphitheatrical Shews had been laid aſide.

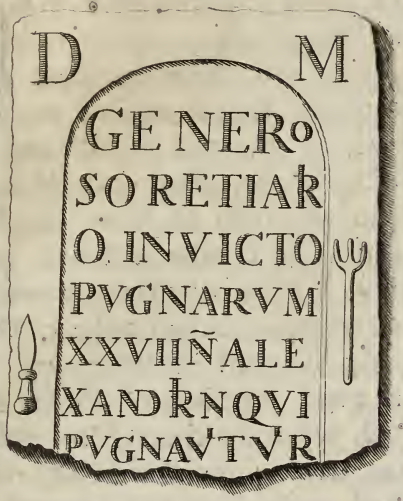
CHAP. XIV.

Of Inſcriptions relating to our Amphitheatre.

THE People of *Verona* made frequent uſe of the Amphitheatre, of which, in its due place, a conſiderable Hint will be given from a Stone made hollow by the Ropes of the [1] *Velarium:* I ſhall prove it likewiſe by three famous Stones with Inſcriptions as yet remaining and placed by me one after another in the publick Academy. The firſt relates to one of the Gladiators, called *Retiarii*, tho' not very exactly publiſhed by *Gruter* and others; and indeed none have taken notice of its Singularity, in ſhewing the Form of the Weapons of thoſe Gladiators.

[1] *N.B. The* Velarium *was the Veil or Curtain which covered the Amphitheatre.*

Monu-



Monuments like theſe are indeed rare, nor do I know, among the very few of this kind, which have been printed, if there be ſuch another; 'tis probable there are none, nor are all thoſe of the ſame kind to be rely'd upon as genuine.

This Sepulchral Monument is of a Gladiator, whoſe Name was *Generoſus*, of a ſervile Station, an *Alexandrian* by Birth, and of the *Retiarian* Claſs. The different kinds and ways of the Gladiators were many, and for the moſt part diſtinguiſhed by their Habit, Arms, and different manner of fighting, the variety of which very much contributed to the Diverſion and Delight which People in general had at the Shews. But I ſhall not enter upon a Subject, whereon *Lipſius* has

has wrote so distinctly; only I say, those kinds of them which are most celebrated by Writers, were the *Secutores* and *Retiarii*, who commonly fought against one another. There was, as we read in *Sariana*, an Inscription in *Verona*, about one of the *Secutores*, who was said to have fought eight times; but as it is now lost and publish'd incorrectly, I shall not take any notice of it here. *Commodus* boasted to be of this Class, and among the first of them, and to have killed a great number of those *Retiarii*. This much we learn from *Lampridius*, but *Salmasius* writing on this head, could not understand well what the *Secutores* were, but only that the *Retiarii* were so called from the [2] Casting-Net, wherewith they enter'd the Field, and which they threw at their Adversary, to entangle him therein; which when done, they struck them with the Fork or else the Ponyard, with which they were armed. *Lipsius* very well observes, that this Custom took its Origine from that famous Action of *Pittacus*, whose Life [3] *Laertius* wrote; and *Strabo* says, that the said *Pittacus* being General of the *Mytilenei*, fought in single Combat with the chief Commander of the *Athenians*, like a Fisher with a Net, which he threw over and invelop'd his Adversary, having privately brought it

[2] *Jaculum.* [3] *Laer. l.* 10.

with him on purpoſe, after that he wounded him with a Trident and Knife.

Whoever then ſhall obſerve particularly how the other Gladiatory Combats repreſented the Manner which ſome Nations had in fighting with one another, or that they alluded to ſome Fact, whether hiſtorical or fabulous, will not doubt, but that the Idea of that kind of Gladiators was taken from the foreſaid Action of *Pittacus*.

Puniſhments likewiſe, as they were inflicted by way of Shew, were uſually executed in a ſcenical manner, taking often the Argument of the Dramatic Repreſentation, from the name of the Malefactor. Even when the Games were performed in the *Forum*, *Strabo* relates, that the *Sicilian* Thief [who ſtyled himſelf *the Son of* Ætna] was made uſe of by way of an Interlude to the Spectators: For, after he had been placed upon a Machine repreſenting Mount *Ætna*, it was ſo contrived as to tumble down all of a ſudden, whereby the Criminal fell precipitantly among the Dens of the Wild-Beaſts, which appear'd as if theſe Animals had been bred in the Mountain, and there was he tore in pieces. Repreſentations of *Orpheus* and *Laurælus*, *Dedalus* and *Leander*, mention'd by *Martial*, were likewiſe kept up in the Amphitheatre: Theſe Alluſions of the Ancients in the Games, were like to what they had in their mechanical Works; where, for

the moſt part, their very Utenſils and common Inſtruments, were made to repreſent ſome ancient Figure. As for the Changes which they had in their Scenes, they were neceſſary in their publick Shews, becauſe they laſted the whole day. Some Gladiators there were who fought on horſeback, of theſe we ſhall treat in another place; others in Chariots, call'd *Eſſedarii*, which either imitated the ancient *Orientals* or the *Britons*; and that ſuch was the Cuſtom of theſe People, we learn from [4] *Cæſar*. However, the Satyriſt joking, ſpoke in the form of [5] Prophecy, to the Man who ſhould make any foreign King a Captive in War, That the King *Arviragus* ſhould fall before him from a *Britiſh* Chariot. If we rely on what [6] *Jornandes* aſſerts, the word *Eſſedus* was entirely *Britiſh*, but we find it ſeveral times mentioned by *Cicero*. [7] *Junius Philargyrus* on the other hand ſaid, a certain kind of Vehicle wherein the *Gauls* fought, was call'd *Eſſedus*. [8] *Cæſar* cauſed Boys to fight at the Games in Chariots. I ſhall not mention here the Woods, Caverns and Ships, which were ſometimes ſhown in the Amphitheatres, nor ſhall I ſpeak of the Luxury and Pomp uſed therein: Nay, [9] St. *Ambroſe* in the

[4] *Bell. Gal. lib.* 14.
[5] *Juv. Sat.* 4. *aut de temone Britanno.*
[6] *Jorn. c.* 2. *quàs more vulgari Eſſedos vocant.*
[7] *Ad Geor. l.* 3. [8] *Dio. l.* 43. [9] *De off. l.* 4. *c.* 21,

fourth

fourth Age, accuſed them for Prodigality in ſquandring away their Patrimony in Shews; and even towards the end of the fifth Century, the Conſul *Turtius Aſterius* [in the Epigram he wrote on *Virgilius Mediceus*, publiſh'd by Cardinal *Noris* in the *Cenotaphia of Piſa*] aſſerts, that great Riches were conſumed in their Games, and confeſſes, [10] that he had ſacrificed his own Wealth to the Huzza's of the People.

But to return to the *Retiarii*; they not only fought with the *Secutores*, but very often with the *Mirmillones*, who were arm'd after the manner of the *Gauls*, and had the Figure of a Fiſh on their Helmet, as we learn from [11] *Feſtus*; ſo that it ſquared very well to have it catch'd in the Net. The Action of a *Retiarius*'s pulling his Adverſary towards him, with his Head entangled in the Net, is ſeen repreſented on a Medal of *Gordianus Pius*, illuſtrated by the Senator *Bonarotti*. When they threw the Net without Succeſs, the *Retiarii* began then to handle their Trident. That *Ermetes*, mentioned by [12] *Martial*, appeared very terrible when he had the Trident in his hand. *Prudentius* calls it a Spear with different Points, and ſays, that they ſtruck at the Face of the Adver-

[10] P. 444. *in quæſtum famæ Cenſus Jactura cucurrit.*

[11] *Juv. Sat.* 8. ——*Movet ecce tridentem*
Poſtquam vibrata pendentia retia dextra
Nequicquam effudit.

[12] *L.* 1. 25.

ſary, which was covered with the Vizor of the Helmet; nor is it believed that they trifled with ſuch Weapons, for on a certain occaſion five *Retiarii* being worſted by the like number of *Secutores*, and on the point of being pierced through by the latter, one of them having laid hold on his Trident, ſlew every one of thoſe who till then had conquered; at the Fierceneſs of which Fact, even [13] *Caligula* himſelf, is ſaid to have been grieved.

Their Habit was the Tunica, whence *Suetonius* calls them here *Tunicati*, and the Fork or Trident of *Graccus*, with the Tunica upon him, is mentioned by [14] *Juvenal.*

Thoſe Gladiators were ſo much in uſe every where, that *Arnobius*, when he ſaw the Repreſentation of a *Neptune*, it always put him in mind of a Gladiator. But *Pittacus*, beſides a Trident, had alſo a ſhort Sword or Ponyard along with him, as [15] *Strabo* relates; for which reaſon, the *Retiarii* uſed it alſo: which Circumſtance, tho' doubted of by ſome, is confirm'd by our Stone, where the Form of both thoſe kinds of Weapons is ſeen. This Sword, or Pocket Dagger, very well ſhews, that they are not of that ſort which [16] *Marcus Aurelius* deſir'd might be uſed by the Gladiators, namely, without a Point, in order to hinder their butchering one another; but rather of thoſe, of which

[13] *Suet. Cal. cap.* 30. *deflevit Edicto.* [14] *Sat.* 2.
[15] *Str. l.* 13. Τῇ τριαίνῃ καὶ τῷ ξιφιδίῳ. [16] *Dio. è Xiph.*

the

the Hiſtorian ſpeaks in the Life of [17] *Nerva*, as does likewiſe [18] *Victor*, where Examination was made before they fought, to ſee if they were ſufficiently ſharpned.

[19] *Tertullian* mentions another kind of theſe Weapons, which he calls *Spongia*; and when [20] *Livy* mentions the Armour of the *Samnites*, which covered their Breaſt, he likewiſe calls it *Spongia*; 'tis probable that it was a mailed Breaſt-plate of Iron, which has ſome Reſemblance of a Sponge: But the Paſſage in *Tertullian* indicates, that ſome offenſive, not defenſive Weapon, of the *Retiarii*, was ſo called; for he ſays, "*That he who* "*ſtands looking on the Bitings of the Bears* "*and the Spunges of the* Retiarii, *might* "*well think on Mercy.*" I read *moneri* in this Paſſage, not *moveri*, as 'tis printed, and as [21] *Lipſius* cites it, becauſe by the latter it is not Senſe. Now, a Breaſt-plate would not be ſo well oppoſed to Pity, nor would it well agree with the biting of the Bears: Beſides, the *Retiarii* fought in their Tunica, and without Armour, as has been ſaid; and without hiding their Forehead under their Helmet, as we read in [22] *Juvenal*: Therefore 'tis probable, that that Name was either given to the Net or the Trident, or the Knife,

[17] *Idem.* ἡ ὀξέα ἔχειν. [18] *Vict. in T.*
[19] *De Spect. cap.* 2..5.
[20] *Lib.* 9. *Spongia pectori integumentum.*
[21] *Sat. Ser. l.* 1. *c.* 3. [22] *Sat.* 8.

It might, by a certain kind of Reſemblance, have been given to the Net; and perhaps to the ſhort Sword, becauſe its Handle or Shaft was perforated and wrought in ſome way like a Spunge. Some are inclin'd to believe this, by that Motto of *Auguſtus*, mention'd by [23] *Suetonius*, "*That his Ajax* "*was permitted to fall upon his Sponge.*" This was was a Tragedy begun by that Emperor, which not ſucceeding to his mind, he deſtroy'd and cancell'd, for which uſe the *Spongia* ſerv'd among the Ancients. But this would have been but a very poor kind of a Jeſt in *Auguſtus*, if we underſtand it ſimply, as *Caſaubon* and all the others have it, and if that word had not a double meaning; there being no Affinity between *Ajax* the Hero and an Inſtrument for effacing, and by which, that Saying might acquire ſome Grace. I think we may infer with certainty, that ſome Weapon or other with a Point, had the Name of *Spongia* given it; by which we may underſtand, that the Tragedy had ſuch an ending as *Ajax* himſelf, who was deſtroy'd by falling upon a Sword. But to finiſh what we have to ſay on the ſubject of our Gladiator, he having fought twenty-ſeven times, ſhews the frequency of thoſe Games in *Verona*; and 'tis probable he reſided there, and was dedicated to that Amphitheatre;

[23] *Cap.* 26. *Ajacem ſuum in ſpongiam incubuiſſe.*

tho'

tho' I cannot deny, but that he might have fought as many as that, in one day.

This Stone might have afforded us ſome other curious and rare Diſcovery, had it not been broke off; for it appears, that towards the end, it began [where *Gruter* very wrongly put *VI. R*] to make mention of ſome occaſion or other, on which the Gladiator had fought courageouſly.

To find a genuine Monument of Antiquity relating to Huntings exhibited out of *Rome*, is much more rare than any about Gladiators. We have, a little before this, ſeen a fine Teſtimony thereof in *Pliny* the Younger, with regard to our Amphitheatre. There is the remembrance of another Hunting remaining in the following Inſcription, which is engraved in very fine Letters, upon a great Baſis of red Marble of our Country, the breadth of which is greater than its height. The ſame words are ſeen on both ſides, which ſhews that in ancient times it had been ſet up in a place which fronted two Ways.

NOMINE
Q. DOMITII · ALPINI
LICINA · MATER
SIGNUM · DIANAE · ET · VENA
TIONEM
ET · SALIENTES. T. F. I.

This good Woman, following the Inſtinct of her own Piety, left it [according to the fantaſtical Religion of thoſe times] in her Will, that they ſhould celebrate a Hunting of Wild-Beaſts. Beſides this, ſhe order'd a Statue of *Diana* to be made. To *Diana*, the Governeſs of all kinds of Hunting, were ſuch Shews often conſecrated, but not Amphitheatres, as ſome believe. In what Situation that Statue ſtood, cannot be well gueſſed, yet ſurely not in the middle of the Amphitheatre, as others have imagin'd. Beſides, this Lady order'd that *Salientes* ſhould be made: No where elſe have we mention of theſe *Salientes*, as relating to an Amphitheatre. This word is generally underſtood for Pipes and Conduits for conveying Water; yet here we may alſo ſuſpect, that it means thoſe hidden Channels or Pipes, by which with wonderful Artifice [as it is twice mention'd by [24] *Seneca*] they cauſed odoriferous Liquor to ſpring up from the bottom to the top of the Amphitheatre, which then jetted and ſpread itſelf in the Air, like a very ſmall Shower of Rain. Thoſe Effuſions were called *Sparſiones*; and it appears by the other * *Seneca*, in the Controverſies, that there were ſome, who talking rhetorically, call'd them, *Odoriferous Showers*.

[24] *Nat. Qu. l.2. c.9. Epiſt.90.* * *Lib.5.*

One

One may gather from this place, that ſuch Channels were com monly underſtood by the Name of *Siphones*: Hence it is, that in our Stone I underſtand by the Word *Salientes*, rather what we now call Fountains, which were extremely requiſite to be near the Amphitheatre; and ſuch is that *Meta* believed to have been, which we ſee on Medals, cloſe by the *Coliſeo*. And indeed I am of Opinion, from that *Latin* Word, that of *Surgente* has been introduc'd into our Language, tho' it is uſed in a meaning ſomewhat different; and, I think, I underſtand that Word as meaning Fountain, even in Writers: particularly in [25] *Cicero*, who mentions the Fiſh-Ponds, and the *Salientes*; and [26] *Pliny*, where he ſays, that *Agrippa* made a great number of Lakes for the convenience of the Publick, and *a Hundred and five Salientes*: and alſo in [27] *Frontinus*, where he confirms, that *Agrippa furniſhed the City with the Waters Salientes*: and when he remarks whence they took the Waters; namely, that they were ſupplied *by the publick Waters Salientes*: and [28] *Ulpianus*, where he names the Cocks of the Ciſtern, which were fixed to the *Salientes*.

Of all theſe things our *Licinia* [whom we muſt believe to have been a Lady of note, ſince ſhe was able to defray the Charge of

[25] *Fam. l.* 3. 17. [26] *L.* 36. *c.* 15. [27] *De Aquæd. art.* 19. [28] *Lib.* 15. *de Act. Emp.*

an

an Amphitheatrical Hunting] ordered they ſhould be exhibited in honour of her Son, and the Game celebrated in his Name, as if he had been at the expence thereof. So we find in [29] *Dio*, that *Auguſtus* exhibited Games in the Name of his Sons, and of his Nephews alſo; as we learn from the [30] *Lapis Ancyranus*. We read alſo in [31] *Tacitus*, that *Druſius* in his own Name, and that of his Brother *Germanicus*, celebrated Games.

But the daily and continued uſe of ſuch Shews in *Verona*, is much more confirmed by the third Inſcription, which gives us to underſtand, that in that Place there was a *Ludus*, as the *Latins* named it; that is, a Seminary or School, if we may ſo call it, of thoſe who were trained up for the Amphitheatre. This is the Meaning of the Word uſed in Inſcriptions, and in this ſenſe [32] *Fabretti* ſays, it was underſtood in ſeveral Laws, which ſpeak of condemning People *ad Ludum*; but in them we muſt underſtand it of the Shews, not of the Gladiators only, as [33] *Gotofredus* explains, but indeed more particularly of that of Beaſts. Several of ſuch Games, in *Rome*, are mentioned on Inſcriptions, and by *Publius Victor*; and it is very rare to find them ſpoke of any where out of *Rome*. In *Capua* they are found, and in *Ravenna*, as we have

[29] *L.* 54. Τῷ τῶν παιδῶν ὀνόματι. [30] *Grut. p.* 232. *Meo nomine, aut filiorum meorum, & nepotum.* [31] *An. l.* 1. [32] *Inſc. p.* 298. [33] *C. Th. ad l.* 8. *de Pœn.*

it

it in *Cæsar* and *Strabo*; and the former had a Nursery of those Gladiators, in both these Cities. A great number of them even in the time of [34] *Didius Julianus*, lived in *Capua*, because it was furnished with a large Amphitheatre: but that which is most observable in our Inscription, is the hint that there were many of those *Ludi* in *Verona*, since that is distinguished, of which mention is made by the Name of *Ludus Publicus*. But behold the Stone is deficient in its very Beginning.

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LVCIL · IVSTINVS
EQVO PVBLICO
HONORIB. OMNIB.
IN MVNICIPIO · FVNCTVS
IDEM IN PORTICV. QVAE
DVCIT · AT · LVDVM · PVBLICVM.
COLVMN. IIII. CVM SVPERFC
IE · STATVRA · PICTVRA
VOLENTE. POPVLO. DEDIT.

At the Back of the same Inscription:

ΩΡΑ
ΚΑΙ
ΤΥΚΗ

This Inscription in *Gruter* and others, is, according to custom, very inaccurately taken.

[34] *Vid. Spart.* The

The counterdiſtinguiſhed Letters are wanting in the Stone, and I have ſupplied them; but in the fifth Line, where, in all printed Works, the Word PARTEM is put in, the Stone has room but for two Letters, ſo that it could not have expreſſed any thing elſe but ITEM, which Method is ſeen in others, and perhaps it was wrote for IDEM, as is often obſerved in the popular way of pronouncing, which varied between thoſe two: ſo that here AT is made for AD. Hence *Lucilius Juſtinus*, after having, in that City, performed the Function of Magiſtracy, in all its Degrees, with conſent of the People, made four Arches in the *Portico*, which led to the *Ludus Publicus*; where alſo Pillars were built and covered, paved and painted. By the word Superficies, the Writers of the Civil Law underſtand all that is above ground. The two *Greek* Words on the Back of the Stone, I take for that proverbial Saying, uſed even in our Language: Time and Fortune ἐτησίους ὥρας, as we have it in *Philo*, at the End of his Book on the Creation; however they have tranſlated it *Horas*, tho' it ſignifies Seaſons.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

An Account of the Amphitheatre of Verona *in the latter Ages.*

WE have already mention'd how long it is ſince the firſt Circuit of this Pile began to give way, tho' it is credible, that it received a very fatal Blow, at the time when *Gallienus*, being apprehenſive of the Invaſions of the barbarous Nations, built the Walls of *Verona* in great haſte, ſince we diſcover that Stones, which had formerly been in the Amphitheatre, are ſtill to be ſeen in thoſe Walls; and we may very well believe, that having ſuch Materials ſo very near at hand, and ſo eaſy to be come at, they made great uſe of them on that occaſion. I once imagined, that perhaps the Top of the Circuit had been then demoliſhed, and thrown on the ground, on purpoſe that the *Arena* might not be poſſeſſed by the Enemy, ſo as to overpower and damage the lower parts of the City from above; but I dropt this Opinion, by obſerving, that the ſmall part of the external Circumference, which ſtill remains, is particularly on that Side, where, in ſuch a Caſe, they would certainly have begun to deſtroy. The laſt account we have of Aſſemblies in that Amphitheatre, is in the

Acts

Acts of St. *Fermo* and *Ruſtico*; namely, in the Year of Chriſt 304. For it is not to be doubted, but the Beginning of their Matyrdom happened within the *Arena*; ſince, the Day before, the Governor invited the People to the Shew, where accordingly they all [1] came. Thither was our fourth Biſhop, S. *Procolus*, who deſired Martyrdom, led, tho' *Anolinus* choſe not to commit his Cruelties on him.

The Gladiatory Shews being a little after that aboliſhed, contributed ſurely not a little to the Ruin of the Amphitheatres; for as the chief Uſe of thoſe Buildings ceaſed, they were not at pains to repair them, from time to time, as was neceſſary for their Preſervation. But I think the Amphitheatre received beſides, a much more ſenſible Blow, when in order to comprehend it within that part of the City which remain'd on the Outſide of the ancient Encloſure, they built another more ample than the former, which muſt have happened in the Beginning of the ſixth Age; it being proved by Hiſtory, that the ſaid Encloſure was the Work of *Theodoric*. 'Tis true, that Wall was made of other kinds of Materials; namely, ſmall Pieces of ſoft Stones, ſquared in a clumſy manner, as may be ſeen in ſeveral Places: But for all that, one of its Towers, a great part of which ſtill remains, makes us be-

[1] *Convenerat omnis multitudo Populi ad Spectaculum.*

lieve,

lieve, that in the others [which were of a different and ſtrong kind of Structure from the Wall it ſelf] ſeveral Stones of the Amphitheatre were made uſe of in building them. We ſee that Tower comprehended within the Walls of the old Caſtle, near the Arch *de Gavii*, not being built at the ſame time with the Caſtle, as is believed, but only augmented in the higher part thereof, which is made of Brick.

In the lower part, built of ancient Stone, which before had been uſed, the greateſt of them were of the firſt Encloſure of the Amphitheatre; and among theſe we find a piece of an Architrave, which had belonged to the third Story; nor is there room to doubt, but the Tower was made out of the ſecond Encloſure, ſince, between the foreſaid Stones, and the Plaiſter laid above them by the *Scaligers*, one part is likewiſe ſeen of the uſual Materials and Workmanſhip, with which the whole Wall of *Theodorick* was made; nay, entering the Caſtle, we may ſee how it continues within that Wall, and proceeds, interrupted now and then, even to the River by which it was bounded.

After the Times of the *Romans*, the firſt mention we find of our *Arena*, is in the Rhime compoſed while King *Pippin* reſided in that City; publiſhed lately by me in my Hiſtory of *Diploma's*, reduced to its true Form and Reading. In it is contained a De-

ſcription of *Verona*; the Author of which, after he has ſpoke of the Walls, and the Towers of its Encloſure, before any other thing, names the *Arena*, and ſays thus:

Habet altum Labyrinthum, magnum per circuitum,
In quo neſcius egreſſus, nunquam valet Egredi,
Niſi cum Igne lucernæ, vel cum fili glomere.

In ſeveral Manuſcripts, tho' of ſmall antiquity, and ſtill leſs value, I have found a Work of our Archdeacon *Pacificus* cited, who died *Anno* 846. This they hint to have been a kind of Geographical Dictionary, in which the *Arena* of *Verona* was mentioned, by the Name of *Labyrinth*; but a more ſure account of it we have in *Raterius*, our famous Biſhop, in the tenth Age. He, in the little Work, intitled [2] *Qualitatis Conjectura*, ſpeaking of ſome Revolutions which happened in the City, mentions a Palace kept by way of a Caſtle, and another too called *Cortalta*, which ſerved for the like uſe; and mentions the *Circus*, by the Name *Arena*, in which a certain Count [3] kept garriſon for his own Security. The Cuſtom in the lower Ages, of making uſe of the

[2] *V. Dacher Spic. t. 2.* [3] *Ipſe in circum quod arena dicitur ob cuſtodiam manſitaret.*

ancient

ancient Edifices as places of Defence, is confirmed by many Evidences and Writers; and indeed not Amphitheatres only, like that of *Capua* and *Nimes*, but *Thermæ* and Temples had the like uſe made of them; as may be ſeen in the Life of *Innocent* III. nay, *Hadrian*'s burying Place is, till this very day, a Caſtle.

We muſt not omit here remarking, that which confirms what was ſhewn in the ninth Chapter, *viz.* that in the lower Ages the Names of the *Roman* Edifices for Games, were confounded one with another, and uſed after a ſtrange manner. Our Rhiming Poet call'd the Amphitheatre a Labyrinth; for ſuch did he imagine the many Windings and Turnings, the various Stairs, the circular Steps, and the internal Galleries, reſembled. So likewiſe in the time of the *Romans*, the ſubterraneous Monument of the *Chiuſi* [which was a good Sample of the *Tuſcan* Magnificence] was, perhaps for the ſame reaſon, call'd a Labyrinth. The Theatre of *Verona* went by the Name of Circle, and *Semicircle*; I mean that ſituated on the *Colline* or ſmall riſing Ground, according to the famous Reſcript of *Beringarius*, which may be ſeen in *Panvinius*, and who permitted the public Edifices to be thrown down when they threatned Danger to others. On the other hand, the Amphitheatre was call'd Theatre in a certain Print, to which I ſhall very ſoon refer. In another Record, which, in treating about that of *Pola*, I ſhall pro-

duce, therein will be ſhewn, that even Palaces were call'd by the Name of Theatre and Temple. However, the Name *Arena* is well known in the ſaid Paſſage of *Raterius*, and was always retain'd among our People and the *Romans* too, from whom it was even handed down to us. With regard to the ancient Derivations, there is ſtill the word *Covoli*, which, in the *Veroneſe* Dialect, denotes covered Places, and the interior parts of the Amphitheatre. *Cubile*, according to *Vitruvius*, ſignifies thoſe Places where Stones or Wood reſt or are ſupported, and upon thoſe Vaults were the Steps laid. *Arcovalos* and *Arcovolitos* [whence, in the vulgar *Italian* is the word *Archivolti*, as *Volta* a Vault is from *Voluta*] this we have in the Teſtament or Laſt-Will of *Giovanni Veroneſe*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, *Anno* 922, and publiſh'd by *Ughelli*, which ſignifies, the Arcades or Arches, and Vaults of the Theatre, in which the foreſaid Perſon cauſed the Oratory of St. *Syrus* to be made. *Saraina* cited a paſſage in the Itinerary of *Cyriacus Anconitanus*, in which the Name Labyrinth is given to the *Arena*; and 'tis ſaid, that the Inſide was ſurrounded with *Cubali* and Caves: it is likewiſe found written [4] *Cubatis*, but that Paſſage, notwithſtanding it is made uſe of and adopted even by *Lipſius* and *Bulinger*, is however of ſmall Authority, ſince of that Itinerary we find no

[4] *Cubalis & Antris multiformiter redimitus.*

certain Account. In the Collection of Inſcriptions, which has the Appearance of an Itinerary, as made by *Cyriacus*, when he travelled into ſeveral parts of the World, and printed at *Rome*, no mention is made of *Verona*; and yet part of thoſe Words is cited by [5] *Panvinius*, as from an uncertain *Chronica*, and not at all of *Cyriacus*.

Some uſe or other may probably have been made of the *Arena*, even in the middle Ages, and perhaps for Shews, altogether unknown to us. In fooliſh Fables and imaginary Records, we have an account of Battles fought by *Lancellotto da Lago*, and other romantic Heroes; notwithſtanding all this, it is certain, that the Amphitheatre ſerved for the Field of judicial Duels, that is, Combats appointed by Judges in thoſe Ages, when, according to the Laws of the *Longobards*, and the Inſtitutions of the northerly Nations, many Differences were ſolely decided by Duels. That the like Cuſtom continued longer in *Verona* than in any other place, we may well ſuppoſe on account of the Convenience of the Amphitheatre, which excited People thereto. I have ſeen myſelf in ſeveral Records, Evidences of this, tho' they are not proper to be mention'd in this place. In the time of *Innocent* III. a perſonal Challenge, to fight by way of Duel, was ſent by the Governor of the place, to a certain Clergy-

[5] *Ant. ver. f.* 3. *c.* 2.

man who had kill'd an Archprieſt, as is ſeen in an Epiſtle of that Pope to our Biſhop and Cardinal *Adelardo*, whoſe Name was not underſtood by [6] *Baluzio*, as having been only mark'd with an initial Letter. But that there was another kind of Trial in an Age ſtill nearer our own Times, appears evident in a long and curious Roll that I keep in my domeſtick Treaſury of Monuments, wrote in the Age 1300: in it is contain'd an account of the Trial of Judgement regarding certain Perſons, ſurnamed *Viſconti*, in the Year 1263, by way of Examination and Witneſſes, who pretended that they and their Forefathers had, for more than a hundred Years, been in poſſeſſion of the Toll or Tax of the Gates of St. *Stephano* and [7] *Veſcovo*, and of all Ingreſs by Land or Water from that Part; *and alſo in poſſeſſion of the* [8] *Entrance to, and Honour of the* Arena, *on occaſion of Combats judged and performed in the ſame* Arena. Some of the Witneſſes affirm, that for every judicial Combat fought in the Theatre, they always had receiv'd *twenty-five Livres of* Veroneſe *Money*, with an Obligation to keep the place ſecure: And they affirm, [9] *that, in order to guard the*

[6] *Lib.* 1. *ep.* 485. [7] *Introitum, & Honorem.*

[8] *Arenæ occaſione pugnarum judicatarum, quæ fiunt in ipſa Arena.*

[9] *Ire ad Theatrum pro cuſtodiendo battaiam cum hominibus armatis.*

Com-

Combatants, they had ſeen them ſeveral times, go to the Theatre with armed Men. From this ſingular Record we learn, that our Amphitheatre ſerved a long time as a free Field for Duels judicially decreed: And it is credible, that becauſe of the Fitneſs and Security of the Place, People from other Parts came thither; by which the Community of the City receiv'd a Tribute, from thoſe to whom it was farmed out.

But one thing cannot be deny'd as peculiarly in favour of the People of *Verona*, and not common to any other Citizens whatever: The Hiſtory of our Amphitheatre terminates with its Reſtorations, having been always repaired without ever grudging the Money laid out therein, even till our own times. The other Amphitheatres have not been ſo fortunate in this reſpect, not even that of *Rome*, and would to God it had but had the ſame goodLuck to have eſcaped being demoliſh'd! as that of *Pola* had, as we ſhall ſhew in another place. However, publick Decrees, made for reſtoring and keeping up the Fabrics of Amphitheatres, I think, can be ſhewn no where elſe, but in *Verona*, and this more anciently than what can be well imagined. A moſt ſingular Code is preſerved among the Archives belonging to our canonical Chapter, wrote in the Year 1228, in which is contain'd the *Veroneſe* Statute, or

the Charge enforced by the Community there, on whoever ſhould be inveſted with the Office of *Podeſtà* or Governor, and by him promiſed and ſworn to; which paved the way to the Compilation of thoſe Statutes. In this Code, at the Paragraph which, if they were number'd, is the 162*d*, we find that the Governor promiſed, *in reparatione & refectione Arenæ, de communi expendam in meo regimine, infra ſex menſes ab initio mei regiminis, quingentas libras; ita tamen quod hoc poſſit immutari voluntate Conſilii, vel Arengi.* This admirable Record and the Contents of that Paragraph, I owe to Mr. *Chancellor Campagnola*, who tranſcrib'd it for me, and who, with very great Judgment and incredible Diligence, has beautify'd and put that ſame Repoſitory in order. The Sum of 500 Livres was very conſiderable in thoſe days, and therefore the Deſire of the Inhabitants of our City, we find, not ſmall, even at that time, I ſay, for having that Treaſure kept up and preſerved.

As the foreſaid Book may be called the firſt Statute, ſo may alſo another, which is kept in the particular *Muſæum* of the Proveditors of the City, be reckoned the ſecond. It was wrote in different Years, tho' no part thereof is after 1376. It contains the Statutes ſeveral times regulated and preſcrib'd under the Government of the *Scaligers*, and

is

is divided into six Books. In the end of the first there are the Elections of the People, who confer'd the Government upon them, but afterwards degenerated into a Monarchy. In the fourth Book, Chapter 156, we find they had ordered all the Gates of the *Arena* to be shut, which formerly had been kept open, and in the following manner did they provide for its being guarded and kept in order.

Quum multa maleficia in Theatro sive Arena commissa sint hactenus, & possent committi de cetero, statuimus & ordinamus, quod dictum Theatrum, sive Arena, clausum permaneat, & claves portarum ejus in massaria communis Veronæ, vel apud massarium dicti communis ponantur, & stent; & si quis fregerit portas, vel murum ipsius Theatri per vim, puniatur in XXV *libras pro quoque, & quaque vice. Quod denuntiare teneantur & debeant jurati, & custodes noctis guaitarum circumstantium eadem die vel sequenti banum ad voluntatem Domini Potestatis vel curiæ auferendo. Et si quis in eo Theatro fecerit aliquam Turpitudinem; puniatur in 5 solidos pro unoquoque, & qualibet vice——Procuratores communis Veronæ infra 15 dies officii sui teneantur inquirere per covalos habitantes: & si invenerint aliquem habentem cloacam, vel fossam, vel scaffam discurrentem in dicto Theatro, vel Arena, &c.*

The third Statute is that which was regulated anew, and printed *Anno* 1475; in it may be ſeen the foreſaid Ordination, repeated with but little Difference, only a Penalty is laid on thoſe who ſhould remove any of the Steps out of their places, or carry off any of the Stones; beſides, another curious Law is ſubjoin'd, which every one may obſerve in Print. In a Poem wrote by *Panfilo Saſſo*, in the Year 1480, I find that the greateſt part of the Steps was wanting: The Text is in MS. and in my own Collection, in which is expreſs'd that the *Arena* was *gradibus vacua*. But in the Age 1500 they fell to work to repair it in good earneſt, and in the Year 1545. It was indeed an excellent Inſtitution to elect ſome conſiderable Citizen or other, from time to time, whoſe chief Care ſhould be to keep the Amphitheatre in good Order and Repair. Twenty-three Years after, there was a voluntary Contribution of the Inhabitants, raiſed for making the Steps anew, and for putting them in their true Places. In the Year 1579, a Tax was laid on for four Years, for defraying the Charge of *repairing the Amphitheatre*, and a Reſolution taken to petition the Government, that a part of the Fines or Amercement, ſhould be applied thereto. Other like Decrees were enacted ſeveral times in the Council of [10] Twelve

[10] *A certain Order of Magiſtrates in the State of* Venice, *conſiſting of* 12, *and* 50 *Senators.*

and

and likewiſe in that of Fifty, who teſtify'd on every occaſion their Zeal and Care in ſo commendable and noble a Deſign. Among the others, in the Year 1606, it was agreed and ordain'd, to increaſe, for the future, the pecuniary Fines two Sols in the Livre, in the the criminal Cauſes of the Conſulate, in order that the Money ariſing therefrom, might be applied for the Uſe of the Amphitheatre, and by means of the Rectors, to petition the Government to confirm that Decree. Soon after the double Guardianſhip, and the applying to the Reparation of the Amphitheatre was wiſely put in uſe, by creating two Preſidents, or Overſeers of the *Arena*; which Office [after the many other moſt worthy Perſons who have been in it] is at preſent, with great Diligence and Zeal, held by the Counts *Gomberto Giuſti*, and *Agoſtino Rambaldi*.

And ſince at preſent all the Rows of Steps are replaced and finiſhed from the Bottom to the Top of the Amphitheatre, I don't think it amiſs to caſt an Eye on the *Veroneſe* Youth, and the flouriſhing and numerous Nobility of our Country, who have been excited ſometimes to make uſe of this ſingular and incomparable Field, for giving proof of their martial Genius, and exerciſing their Valour therein.

To renew ſometimes the ſolemn Exerciſes at Arms on horſeback, which for ſo many Ages had been laid aſide, would ſurely be

be one of the moſt elegant and ſuperb Entertainments that could, in theſe days, be ſeen any where, or upon any occaſion whatever; ſuch without doubt would be our Amphitheatre, in ſeeing it full from the Bottom to the Top all round with Spectators. An Appearance like this ſurpaſſes Imagination, and would become the only proof, that we ſtill participate of the ancient Ideas, and of the *Roman* Grandeur in Shews; and certainly a better Convenience than this could not be deſired, or a greater Excitement for celebrating, from time to time, Diverſions, in which Valour has a ſhare, and which, by deviating from the miſerable Uſage of our own Times, which chiefly ſeems to inſpire People with Effeminacy, and ſuch a kind of Softneſs, as if contriv'd on purpoſe to debaſe our already wretched Nation, and make it more and more indolent.

In the laſt Age I find an Account of two Tournaments, much more ſolemn than any I have met with; one in the Year 1654, the other in 1622. In this laſt, the firſt Premium was gain'd by the Marquis *Aleſſandro da Monte*, of whom *Orlando Peſcetti*, in his *Dialogo dell' Honore*, makes mention, as does *Palladio* in his Hiſtory of *Friuli*, and *Briſoni* in his Hiſtory of *Italy*; as a Perſon who afterwards became a great General, as may alſo be ſeen in his Life, publiſhed by *Conte Gualdo:* and indeed much more may be

be ſeen in many of his own Letters, and in the Letters of Cardinal *Mazarine*, and others, to him: The firſt of theſe are preſerv'd by thoſe to whom he wrote; but that other Tiltings were likewiſe perform'd in the laſt Age, tho' we have no particular Relation thereof publiſhed, may be conjectured from that moſt rare Print in large of the *Arena*, engraven *Anno* 1627, the like of which, till then, had never been ſeen; a Copy thereof is, by good luck, now abroad in the world. In this Print we ſee a Tilting delineated from the Life, with a Repreſentation of the whole Appearance, and the Cavaliers in Armour, and the Habits they wore, with the Arms of their Families upon their Shields; together with the two Champions in the Attitude of running on one another with their Lances, but ſeparated by a Bar between them: there likewiſe are the Rectors repreſented, ſitting on a Bench, with the Judges and the Rewards lying by them. 'Tis credible, that many Tournaments were made in ancient Times. *Saraina*, in his Hiſtory, mentions one in the Year 1222.

The Command of Friends, and the earneſt Deſire of many others, have at laſt prevail'd with me to mention here alſo the Tilting with Lances and the Courſe at the Ring, which, with as ſuitable a Preparation as the Times would allow, was perform'd in the *Arena*, the 20*th* of *November*, in the Year 1716, on the Occaſion of the Arrival of the illuſtrious Prince,

Prince, the preſent Elector of *Bavaria*, in *Verona*. The Rain, which unfortunately laſted all that Day, tho' but a ſmall one, neither hindred the Performance, nor deprived many of the Spectators from ſeeing it. The Part of the Maſter of the Field, was performed by the Count *Coza Cozi*, a Gentleman who has had but few Equals in this noble Art, and been honoured and ſought after by ſeveral Princes. The Judges appointed at this Solemnity were the following; namely, the Marquis *Ottaviano Spolverini*, and the Count *Gomberto Giuſti*; the Marquis *Gio Carlo Malaſpina*, and the Count *Ricciardo San Bonifacio*.

The Actors or Combatants were,

Count *Giugno Pompei.*
Count *Alberto Pompei.*
The Marquis *Scipio Maffei.*
Count *Aſcanio Maffei.*
Count *Aleſſandro Sanbaſtiani.*
Count *Emilio Emilii*, Knight of *Malta.*
Count *Rambaldo Rambaldi.*
Count *Franceſco Rambaldi.*

The Seconds were as follows,

Count *Gerolamo Allegri.*
Count *Gerolamo Rambaldi.*
Count *Gerolamo Pompei.*

Signor

Signor *Giacomo Bra.*
Count *Gaetano Bevilacqua.*
The Marquis *Gerolamo Spolverini.*
Marquis *Antonio Sagramoso.*
Signor *Bertoldo Pellegrini.*

End of the First Book.

OF

OF THE

AMPHITHEATRES;

Particularly that of

VERONA.

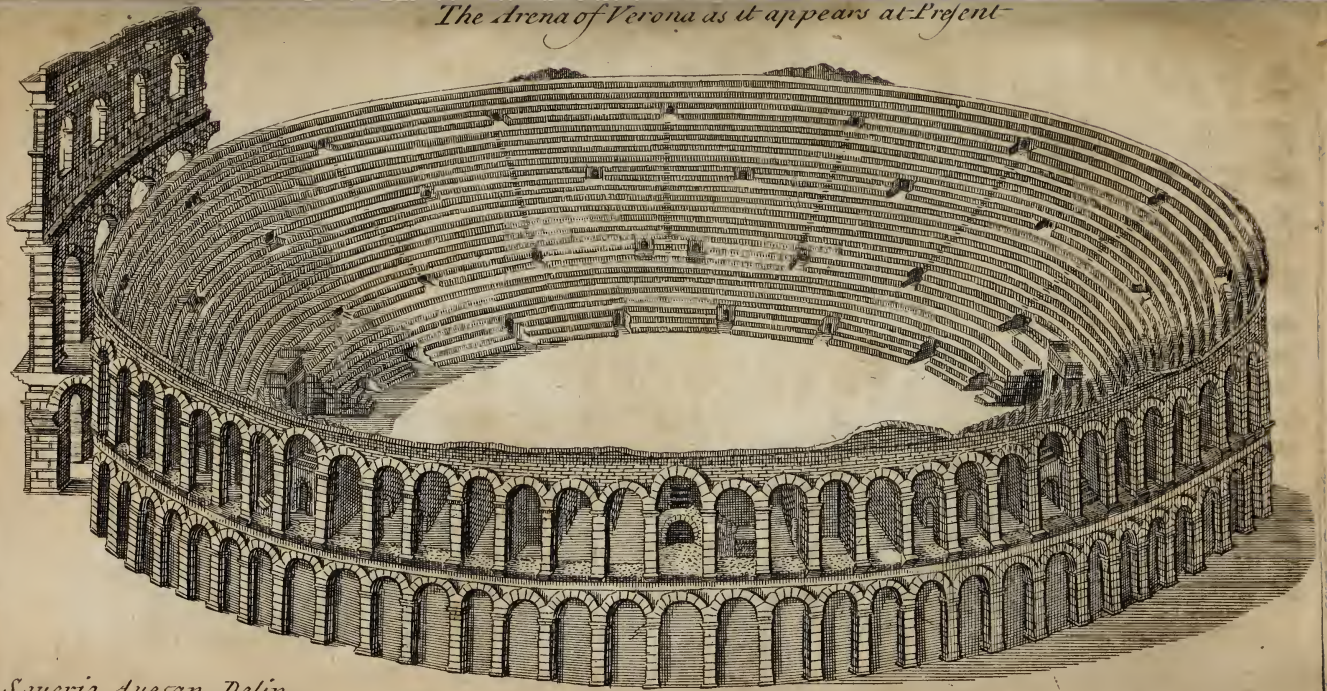
BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Prints which hitherto have been made of the Amphitheatre.

AFTER the Hiſtorical Account given of the Amphitheatre, we ſhall proceed to examine the Structure it ſelf; and indeed it would afford us but little advantage [where we treat of an Edifice] to have a knowledge of the outward Parts thereof, if we

The Arena of Verona as it appears at Present



Sauerio Auesan Delin.

we underſtood not its Form, and the Artifice with which it was built: Nor would the Miſtreſs of Arts, I mean Architecture, for which we are ſolely beholden to the Ancients, receive any advantage thereby. I know very well that my Care herein will at firſt view be reckoned too great, and my Labour uſeleſs, ſince ſo many Antiquaries and Architects have wrote already on this Subject; and beſides, the Draughts of the Amphitheatres already publiſhed, are ſo ample and ſumptuous, that moſt People will be of Opinion, that nothing is left for me but to repeat what they have ſaid, and copy anew, as is uſual in this preſent Age. But I am ſo far from following this Method, that I am in my very Beginning obliged [with the ſame Deference I have always uſed in writing] to aſſure the Republick of Letters, that hitherto little or nothing is known about Amphitheatres, and the Draughts handed about, ſerve, for the moſt part, only to give a Notion of the Inſide of them, and their moſt eſſential Parts, quite contrary to what they are in reality. It appears very odd to ſome People, that I have the boldneſs to ſay now and then, that Antiquities have all need to be repaired or done over again: But perhaps this ſhort Eſſay may produce Evidences, for ſupporting the Aſſertion; and may I be permitted to ſay [without any way departing from that Humility, within the Bounds of which,

which, I ought at any rate to contain my ſelf] that as now the fourth Age is going on; nay, with regard to *Italy*, the fifth ſince Literature was revived: it is therefore high time, that ſome certain kinds of Study ſhould be advancing, and an end put to Authors copying from one another; and to aim at a Reputation, and a Merit in Books, which is commonly done now-a-days, not by a thorough Examination of things, or by leading People to Truth; but as they are coſtly, and come from Places far off: above all, if they are bulky to the Eye, and are only valued as they make a gaudy Figure, and become a part of rich Furniture, which cuſtom in valuing Books has been very fatal to Literature in general.

But to proceed, with regard to Amphitheatres entirely of Stone: I am of opinion, that they were not made of a different kind of Architecture, like the Temples; but ſo very uniform, that if we had one entire, we might by it judge of all the others: but as we are not ſo happy, we muſt ſearch for a right underſtanding of them from the different Remains we ſtill have of the Amphitheatres of *Rome* and *Verona*, ſince thoſe two are the moſt magnificent, and beſt preſerved of any. Of the one we have the external Part remaining, of the other the Entrails, if we may ſpeak ſo of ſuch Bodies. Mighty things have been told us about the Magnificence

cence of that of *Capua*; but that which is asserted by [1] one who has celebrated it most, agrees very ill therewith, namely, that its inside was not made of Stone but Brick; be that as it will, what remains is so little, that it cannot afford us any great light therein: and yet we find it intire in most Prints, tho' this, as is usual, is the meer Work of Imagination. It is commonly given out that the Amphitheatre of *Nimes* is exceedingly well preserved, yet those who have accurately examin'd it on the spot, say the contrary; nor indeed, as I have already hinted, can we have any sufficient Evidence, that it was an Amphitheatre. To the *Roman* Amphitheatre then, and to that of *Verona*, we must have recourse, particularly to the latter, since the greatest Difficulty consists in knowing well the Internal Part, and the Windings of the Stairs, and the Passages which gave occasion to those of the middle Ages to call Amphitheatres *Labyrinths*, with regard to which that of *Rome* affords small light, because those Parts do not subsist. We may conjecture from all this what ground there was for the Assertions of those who have diffusedly wrote on Amphitheatres; tho' they never came to study from ours at *Verona*, which alone could have given them Light therein. Such Authors however should have necessarily made it

[1] *Montf. Ant. t.* 3. *pag.* 258. *Diar. It. c.* 22.

their Buſineſs to have dug in the Inſide of that of *Rome*, and to uncover the Foundation of the inner Gates, and loweſt Entries, of which Particular every one of them have ſpoke at random, and by chance; nor indeed by other means could they know any thing of the ſubterraneous Structure, nor the ancient Floor of the Building, nor of the Priſons at preſent buried under Ground; nor of ſeveral other Parts neceſſary to be known. Inſtead of this, every one of them has tranſcribed what was ſaid before their own Times, and their greateſt Care has been to ſhew in their Drawings, thoſe Parts of the Building which do not at preſent exiſt, and which no Mortal knows in what manner they were made. The Draught of them given by *Lipſius*, was in a more particular manner approved of, more than any of the others; by it he repreſented the *Coliſeum* in the Form which he imagined the Inſide to have been when it exiſted. And yet here will be ſhewn, that whatever he added of this kind, of his own Invention, was but very indifferently underſtood; I mean, as far as is ſhewn in his Draught, excepting the Porticos, or Circular Galleries, of which he had a Hint in *Serlio*'s Plan thereof.

I know many will wonder that I imagine any thing remains to be ſaid on this Subject, after what we have in the Book lately printed in *Holland*, which has no leſs than Twenty

Twenty ſumptuous Plates, engraved by a *Roman* Architect, laying before our Eyes the Coliſeum delineated, part by part; nor will they underſtand what regard this ſmall Treatiſe can ever deſerve, with its ſhatter'd Figures, when compared with that vaſt Volume, wherein every thing is ſhewn perfect. As to what regards that good Man, *Fontana*, the Author, I ſhall ſay nothing at preſent, but that his Genius and Labour were very commendable, by not taking notice of the Defects very common in Books upon that Subject, which treat of Matters foreign to the purpoſe. He has ſeveral good things in his Work, and might have become very uſeful in illuſtrating ſome parts; but the Book printed in his Name was not finiſhed by him, nay remained imperfect; and that which is worſe, inſtead of being reviſed at *Rome*, or reduced to form by ſome of his Scholars, the Original was bought by ſome Ultramontane or another, and ſo publiſhed we know not by whom; nay, more than that, as it appears by the Style in ſeveral Places, it was altered and ſupplied by the hand of a Stranger. For which reaſon beſides the many Errors in transforming Words into one another, the Senſe is changed, and the Language ſuch, that in ſome places it can ſcarcely be underſtood; more than that, the Citations are falſe, and miſerably expreſſed. All theſe there are, toge-

ther with other Weakneſſes innumerable, and indeed moſt wonderful: for example, we read [2] in it, that *the Theatre of* Pompey *was burnt in the Time of* Philip *of* Macedon, and that *behind the Senators ſat the fourteen Orders of Knights:* But beſides all this, there are Errors in the Architectonic Part, ſuch as we cannot poſſibly imagine a Profeſſor of that Art could have committed. For *Vitruvius*, teaching by way of Example, to make the Steps on which People ſat in the Amphitheatre, not higher than a [3] *Palmopiede*, in this Book we read that he deſired they might be made no more than one *Palm* in height; and that *Palmopiede* ſignified nothing elſe: where beſides that ridiculous Incongruity, if the Author had not underſtood Latin, the very Tranſlation by *Daniel Barbaro* has it, "that "the Seats or Steps *ought not to be made* "*higher than one Palm, and one Foot*;" and adds, "*No more than a Foot and ſix* "*Inches*;" having well read the whole of that Paſſage, which [4] *Lipſius* calls deformed.

We may remark, that none of the Modern Authors or Collectors, have taken any notice of a Book, which is the only one that has mentioned any thing about the Diviſion or Diſtribution of Amphitheatres; the Title

[2] *Pag.* 13. *er.* 28. [3] *Vitr. l.* 5. *cap.* 6. *Font. p.* 93.
[4] *Lipſ. Amphit. c.* 13.

of it is, *Diſcourſes on the Antiquities of* Rome, *by* Vincenzo Scamozzi, *an Architect of* Vicentia, printed at *Venice*, *Anno* 1583. Of the 40 Plates therein, which exhibit Draughts of the *Roman* Antiquities 15 are conſecrated to the Amphitheatre, in the few Words which *Scamozzi* prefixes to every one of them, concerning the Paſſages, the Stairs, Lights, they are things but ſlightly touched, and indeed not as yet underſtood, nor diligently enquired after by others; and I am perſuaded that he had made a finiſhed Work of it, had he come to learn minutely, and obſerve what belongs to our Arena, and given his Draughts from it, and adapted them to ſuch an Intention: but ſuch as are explained by him, having been firſt delineated by a Painter, in order to ſerve thoſe who draw Perſpective and Landskips, as is ſeen in the Things themſelves, and as is hinted in the Dedication; for this reaſon they ſcarce ſerve for any other Purpoſe, and conſequently render the Diſcourſes on that Subject obſcure, and of ſmall advantage.

It is ſtill more remarkable, that the Moderns, for the moſt part, neither value nor make mention of *Baſtian Serlio*, the *Bolognese* Architect, who no leſs than 200 Years ago publiſhed an excellent Collection of the Drawings of ancient Edifices, and was himſelf a Maſter therein, and, we may ſay, a Pattern to all the others. His moſt diſtin-

guiſhed Care was about the Amphitheatres, having in his Books repreſented that of *Rome*, *Verona*, and *Pola*, and given the Plans, Views, Sections, Profiles and Parts of them. Beſides, *Leon Battiſta Alberti*, the *Florentine*, as to what regarded the Steps, the Encloſures of the Theatres, [in which parts they are the ſame with thoſe of the Amphitheatres,] two Hundred and Fifty Years ago ſpoke much better on that Subject, than what we find uſual in modern Volumes. *Deſgodetz* was the only Perſon who did honour to *Serlio*, with regard to Amphitheatres, or other Buildings and Remains of Antiquity. For, notwithſtanding he applied himſelf with the utmoſt Diligence to mend his Errors, which were, for the moſt part, in the Proportions, and which, perhaps, proceeded from the Inaccuracy of the printed Draughts made thereof, yet he ſtill followed his Footſteps. Among all the Foreigners I know, that *French* Architect, juſt now named, deſerves, in a moſt diſtinguiſhed manner to be praiſed, for having delineated the things of Antiquity with Judgment and Truth, without rearing up Fabricks of his own Invention, or impoſing his Chimæra's upon the World for Realities, and real Pieces of Antiquity. We are likewiſe very much obliged to him for having given the *Architectonic* Parts of the four Orders of the *Coliſeo* in large, and their Proportions with great Exactneſs.

The

The Prints of the Amphitheatre of *Capua*, were taken from a Picture, which the Archbiſhop *Ceſare Coſta*, [*Baronius*'s Maſter for the Law] cauſed to be made in his Palace, repreſenting it as they imagined it had been in former times, without having further light therein, but what they had from the two undermoſt Arches, which are preſerv'd till this day.

However, in the Book of [5] *Les Antiquitéz expliquées*, or *Antiquities explain'd*, it is ſeen with ſeveral Gates, in the fourth Story, and which are entirely out of place, and are very differently repreſented in the Canon *Mazochio*'s Book. From the forementioned imaginary Picture, we have the Print of ſuch an Amphitheatre hinted at by *P. Vitali*, a regular Clergyman of *Capua*, in his [6] *Mathematical Lexicon*. That of *Nimes* was engraven by *Gioanni Poldo*, *Graſſer*, and *Lipſius*, and on looſe Paper; and in the *Atlas* of the Cities of *France*, printed in the Year 1706, and laſtly, in the *Antiquities explain'd*. In thoſe Books it is given out to be the beſt preſerved Amphitheatre of any; but why do they not then repreſent the Inſide thereof, and its other different Parts? On the contrary, they ſhew it in ſuch a manner, that People can make really but very little of it? *Torello Saraina*, the Hiſtorian, and *Giovanni Caroto* the Painter, in *Serlio*'s time, undertook to give us Draughts

[5] *Tom.* 3. *Plate* 149. [6] *In v. Theatrum.*

of the *Arena* of *Verona*, nor was their Labour therein contemptible. But in the Year 1560, *Pierro Ligorio* publiſhed a new Print thereof, caſt off in *Lafrerio*'s Rolling-Preſs, upon looſe Paper. In the ſame Sheet he gave the exterior and interior Uprights, together with the Section and Plan; but in the whole very little regarded Truth, or obſerved the Meaſures or Proportions therein: nay, the firſt Parts he delineated according to his own Fancy. This Draught had, however, a greater run than any of the others, it being uſual for fictitious things to meet with more applauſe than thoſe that are real; as Romances are commonly more admired by ſome People than true Hiſtory. This Print, together with all the Repreſentations of Statues in it, was exactly copied by *Lipſius*, and inſerted in his Treatiſe on Amphitheatres out of *Rome*; and afterwards exhibited by the Publiſhers of the poſthumous Works of *Panvinius*, on the Antiquities of *Verona*: in fine, this Draught has hitherto ſerved, and ſtill does for an Original to thoſe who have a mind to ſatisfy popular Eyes with a view of our Amphitheatre, and of other ſuch Buildings too; ſince it has been copied in order to repreſent likewiſe that of [7] *Autun*.

But *Deſgodetz* did not go this way to work, for in the Antiquities out of *Rome*, exhibited by him, he has given only our *Arena* of *Verona* a place in his Book. He

[7] *V. Ant. explain'd, tom.* 3.

exa-

examin'd it himſelf on the ſpot, and accordingly has publiſhed four Prints thereof, in which ſome things are much better repreſented than in the other Drawings made before his time.

He was, however, not ſo lucky in underſtanding the moſt intricate parts of the Building, nor indeed in comprehending well, what is of the greateſt importance, the internal Diſpoſition of the Parts. What regards the exterior and interior Views, is very much to be commended, and much more in large than any other way, is that Print of it publiſhed in *Verona*, in the Year 1696, by *Valentino Maſieri*, the *intelligent and curious Poſſeſſor thereof*, in which what was wrote under it was well dictated, and the additional Ornaments compleatly drawn. The Words were inſerted by Doctor *Giuſeppe Morando*, a famous Phyſician; the Drawing made by our own *Lodovico Dorigni*. The Draughts, by which I have endeavour'd in this Treatiſe to repreſent the ſame Amphitheatre, part by part, in its various Views, and internal Structure, are ſuch as have never been till now inveſtigated, and by which that of *Rome*, and of all the other Amphitheatres, can be underſtood: All theſe Drawings have been the commendable Labour of Signor *Saverio Aveſani*, Citizen of *Verona*, who in the late War with the *Turks*, was in the Station of Engineer, wherein he did not a little ſignalize himſelf: the Engraving is done by Signor *Franceſco Zucchi*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The entire Measures of the Veronese Arena, *and of the* Coliseum; *with an Account of the exteriour Parts thereof.*

THE external and internal Form of the Edifice, is oval: The first Measures which I caused to be taken were of the two Axes of the Ellipsis, and of the Line of Contour. The greatest Length then, from the first Arch of Entrance to the other, is 450 *Veronese* Feet, and the greatest Breadth 360; the Length of the Area or Piazza taken within the Walls, which circumscribe it, is 218 Feet 6 Inches, the Breadth 129, the exterior Circumference or first Enclosure, 1290 Feet. The *Veronese* Foot is exactly one Third more than the *Roman* Palm of the Architects.

The *Coliseo*, according to *Fontana*'s Assertion, was 564 of our Feet in length, broad 467; the Area 273 long, and 173 broad; the Circumference 1566 Feet.

The fine Print of *Alessandro Specchi* the Architect, engraven in *Rome* in the Year 1703, makes the interior Length 300 Feet, and the Breadth 203; but this Difference arises from *Fontana*'s having measured, as he

e ought to have done, within the Wall of ıe *Podium*, which at preſent is buried un- er ground; and *Specchi*, from the Veſtiges f the next Round.

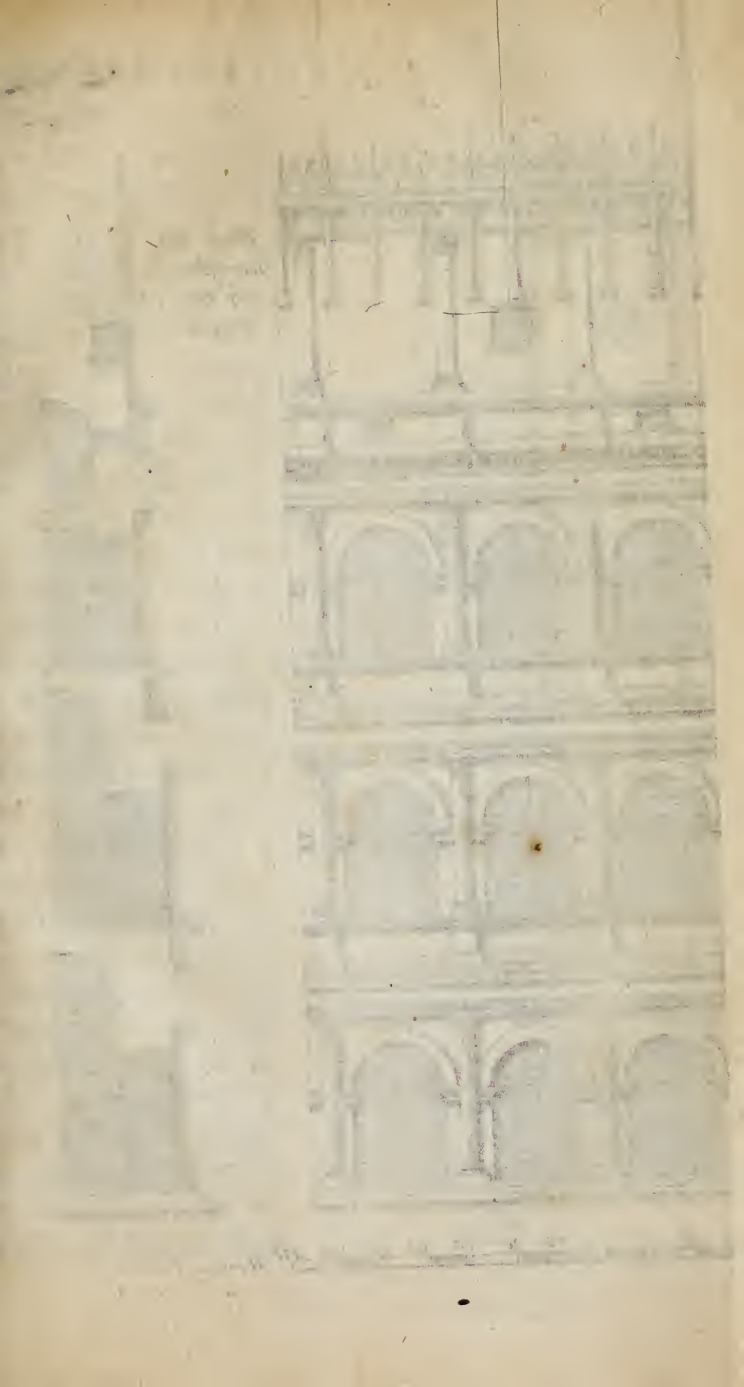
The Height of the *Roman* Amphitheatre, vhich [1] *Ammianus* ſaid went beyond the each of human Eyes, amounts to 140 Feet, ncluding the 8, or thereabout, loſt by the Riſing of the Ground all around it, which n a ſhameful manner, has been carried thither)y Cart-Loads. Above the upper Corniſh here was a Courſe of Stones more than what t is at preſent, of which ſome pieces, about hree or four Palms in length, as yet remain ıere and there at the top, and ſerved for he Ornament above that Courſe, as may be ſeen by our Drawing thereof: There were likewiſe three broad, but low Steps, which, at the foot of the Amphitheatre, ſurrounded it quite, and by which they aſcended to the firſt Entries.

'Tis credible our Arena was built in that manner all around, on purpoſe that the Pave- ment of the firſt Portico might be higher than the Level of the Streets without. The Height remaining at preſent, is about 80 Feet, including the 6 which are under ground, and alſo the fourth Order; nor is there any doubt but that ſuch an Order has been, becauſe we ſee the very Stones above the third, which form'd the firſt Tyre or

[1] *Lib.* 16. *c.* 10.

Belt

Belt thereof, if we may ſo call it, and part of the ſecond, with the beginning of two plain Pillars; ſo that the Height could not be leſs than from 110 to 120 Feet. The Steps remaining at preſent are in number 45, excluding the firſt, which is under ground, as is likewiſe that which ſupported the Openings above, and the ſmall Stairs quite levelled. Twenty-two thouſand People can conveniently ſit around it, allowing every one a Foot and a half of room. Being now to begin with the firſt Encloſure or Wall of the Amphitheatre, and as ours is almoſt quite demoliſhed and loſt, and the little part remaining wanting; I therefore thought it neceſſary to exhibit a View of the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, which, as good luck would have it, has ſtill a part of the external Encloſure exceedingly well preſerved, being the moſt ſuperb Remain of ancient Magnificence extant; as there are four Floors or Stories, ſo are there as many different Orders of Architecture uſed; with four Rows of Pillars coming out from the Surface of the Building, *Mezzo-relievo* ways. In the firſt two Orders the Pilaſters project two Thirds outward, in the third about half the Diameter; the higheſt of all, are flat and ſquare, which, at ſuch a diſtance, delights the Eye much better, than if it was otherwiſe. The firſt Floor or Story, namely, the loweſt of all, is of the *Doric* Order, without Pedeſtals; the



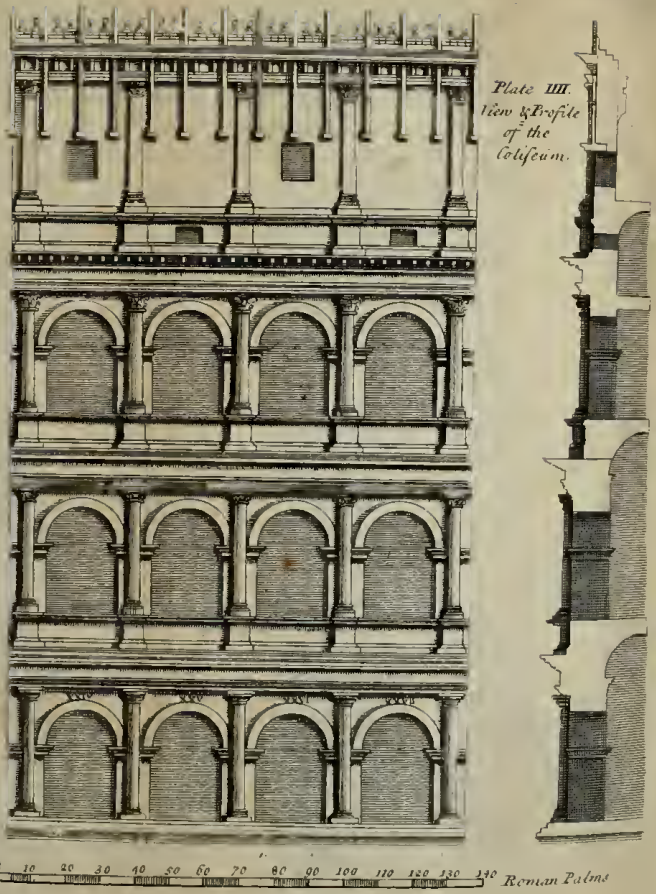


Plate IIII.
View & Profile
of the
Coliseum.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 Roman Palms

ıe ſecond *Ionic*, the third *Corinthian*, and ıe fourth *Roman* or Compoſite. *Scamozzi* ı his Treatiſe of Antiquities, had the notion ɔmmonly received about theſe Orders, tho' ſterwards in his Work he affirm'd, that the ɔurth Story in the Coliſeum was of the *Co-inthian* Order, juſt like the third. The ruth is, the Capitals are *Corinthian*, and ike thoſe of the third Order, with the four Cilleries or curled Tufts, and two Rows of mooth Foliage, tho' the Corbils in the Freeze hews them of the Compoſite Order, as *Serlio* ıffirms. By theſe Modilions, the whole up-ɔer ornamented part appeared to *Deſgodetz*, :o be but one only Corniſh, by which the whole Building was crowned.

The Stakes or Piles which are erect, repreſent Beams, which reſt on end in the Menſole or Corbils, ſeen all around and fence the Architrave, and paſſing by the Corniſh, the Ends of them ſupported the Awning which covered the Spectators, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its due place. That it was ſo, we are certain from the Hollows in the Corbils, in which the Poles that held up the Covering enter'd, and likewiſe from the Holes which correſpond in the Corniſh; nor in any other manner could they make uſe of that great Covering. Exactly ſo is it underſtood and repreſented by *Daniel Barbaro*, in Book V, where he treats of the Theatre with the Beams ſtanding up, and likewiſe with

with that *Zone* or Bandage above the Corniſh of which I have already ſpoke, and more than this, I have cauſed to be added in my Draught thoſe kinds of Battlements or Pinacles made like very ſmall Pyramids with Balls upon them; which Ornaments at the Top have been ill left out in the Deſcriptions of others, ſince we ſee them exactly ſo on all Medals: not only was this graceful in finiſhing, but neceſſary for the Security of the great Corniſh, and for counterballancing the Out-jet or Projection above.

That the Amphitheatre of *Capua* was likewiſe built on the Out-ſide with the ſame four Orders of Architecture, is commonly aſſerted; but how can this be affirmed, ſince no more than two Rows of Arches of the firſt and loweſt Stories are to be ſeen, and are the only Arches that remain? And ſince none of the higher parts are preſerved, we can ſcarcely be certain, that there has been four Stories; and we have no Evidence to the contrary, but that the Building might have been continued with the ſame Order of Architecture upwards, like the Amphitheatres of *Verona*, *Pola* and *Nimes*. There is a Controverſy about the two Arches remaining at *Capua*, whether they are *Doric*, as *Sanfelici* imagines, or *Tuſcan*, as the Canon *Mazochio* thinks. According to the current Idea People have about the Orders, ſuch a Diſpute will appear odd; but in my own Opinion,

Opinion, 'tis a Matter of Indifference, even to thoſe who are moſt skilled in the Art.

The Arena, however, of *Pola*, was called *Doric* by *Serlio*; by *Palladio*, *Tuſcan*. *Daviler*, a *French* Architect, calls that of *Nimes*, *Tuſcan*, the others *Doric*. The *Atlas* of the Cities of *France* will have it *Tuſcan* below, *Doric* above: The Arch in the *Gavii* of *Verona*, was called Compoſite by *Serlio*, *Corinthian* by *Daniel Barbaro*. The firſt Story of the *Coliſeo* is ſaid to be *Doric*, however they don't make the Freeze of it plain and ſmooth: The third Floor or Story is *Corinthian*, but without Carving or Ornament, except in the Capitals: The fourth is Compoſite, but with *Corinthian* Capitals, and like thoſe of the third. The Pillars above one another do not diminiſh in Dimenſion, according to Rule, but are all of a thickneſs; and the Void of the Arches, the Parts, and Ornaments, and Meaſures, in the different Stories, have not that Diverſity of Proportion which is believed to be eſſential to different Orders. *Fontana*, beſides the View of the *Coliſeo*, does not, as was neceſſary, give the Parts in great, according to their Meaſures, or exactly delineated. The Reaſon he aſſigns is, becauſe ſuch Parts put together, don't ſatisfy the Eye; having the Members enlarged according to their Diſtances; but this, I own, was a great

Pre-

Precept to Art. Some have remark'd, that the *Corinthian* Capitals in the *Coliſeum*, were not delicately wrought, but methinks it would have been ridiculous to have cut the Foliage or Leaves finely at that height, and in ſuch a Building; as it would be equally ridiculous to follow that Manner in making them ſmooth in a Hall. As for the Meaſures or Proportions, and Parts, one would think, when we know the Orders themſelves, we conſequently know all that is neceſſary: But it remains to be obſerv'd, whether the Ancients, in the Rules of the Proportions, and different Members of the Building [as now eſtabliſh'd by many in the Orders] held them as a perpetual and univerſal Law, or if, in the ſame Orders, Meaſures, and Manners, they differ'd, according to the various Kinds of Buildings or the Judgement of the Architect, or according to the different Circumſtances of things. All which muſt be underſtood with Moderation and within certain Limitations: For I ſee that *Vitruvius*, after having treated fully about the Pillars in Temples, when he comes to ſpeak of Theatres, he handles that Subject in a different manner, and ſays, that the Proportions and Meaſures ought not to be the ſame in ſacred Edifices, where the whole ought to breathe forth Gravity; but that Genteelneſs or Slenderneſs agrees well with Portico's and other ſuch Works.

The

The more does the Thought of those two notable *French* [2] Architects appear ridiculous to me, who made *the Parallel between ancient and modern Architecture*; and say, that as to the *Tuscan* Order, we have nothing more left thereof in Antiquity, by which we may know it, but *Trajan*'s Pillar: to which they would have us have recourse, and not to the Amphitheatres of *Verona* and *Pola*, as *Palladio* has done. But, allowing that the said Pillar is of any Order at all, and *Tuscan*, [3 *Fabretti* asserts it to be *Doric* on account of the Flutings which it has at the Top] yet it is a Work so very extraordinary and different from all the others, that no Argument or Rule in the Art can be drawn from it. By such kinds of Ideas, 'tis no wonder that the learned [4] Translator of *Vitruvius* thought it out of all Proportion. Of the common *Tuscan* Pillar we read in [5] *Pliny*, that its Diameter at the Base is the seventh part of its Height, the *Doric* the sixth; but perhaps the Copyists took away an I from the *Doric*, and added it to the *Tuscan*.

[6] *Harduin* in this Passage cites *Vitruvius* for confirming it, and where, speaking of the *Tuscan* Order, he seems to say the same;

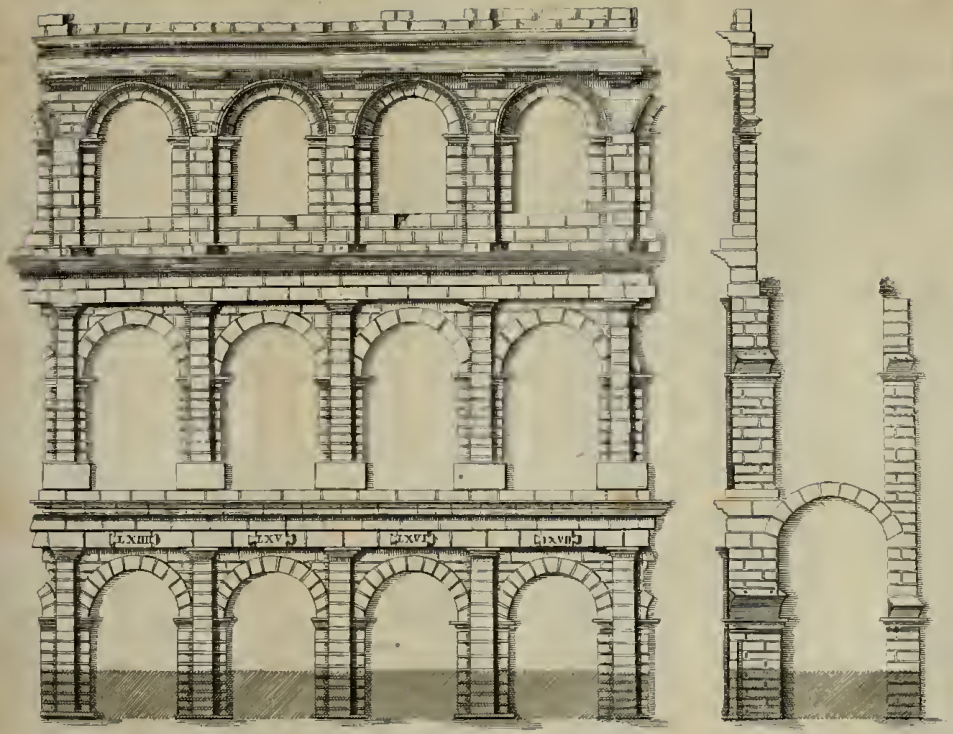
[2] *Eccard and Chambray.* [3] *Col. Traj. p.* 87.
[4] *Perault. l.* 4. *c.* 7. [5] *Lib.* 36. *c.* 2.
[6] *L.* 4. *c.* 7.

but in that place he does not treat of it in general. With regard to the *Doric*, in another place he gives us to understand, that in the [7] beginning it consisted of six Diameters, but that at last they fix'd it to seven. However *Rusconi*, who seems to me to have understood *Vitruvius* perfectly well, and by the few Words he uses, and the Figures he so nicely adapts, makes others understand him too, says, speaking of his Principles, that leaving, for greater Beauty, the more confined kinds of Models, they made the Height of the *Doric* Pillars of seven Diameters. But the Marquis *Giovanni Poleni* can afford us other Reflections on this Head, worthy of him, whose Friendship I sincerely prize; and, if my Entreaties can prevail to persuade him to undertake the Publication or a new Edition of *Vitruvius*, from what he has collected already, he will plainly evince, that that Author has not as yet been wholly shewn to the world in a true Light.

But in proceeding to the first Round or Enclosure of our Arena, you may observe here in the fifth Plate, the Front and Side of that part still subsisting, which cannot be seen to advantage on the spot, because of the Narrowness of the Street in that part. The whole here is taken by Mensuration, and with very much Exactness; and in this Print the Profile is also seen. A slip of Memory made

[7] *Lib. 4. c. 7. Posteri vero, &c.*

Des-



5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 Veroneſe Feet

Half a Veroneſe Foot divided into Six Inches

1 2 3 4 5 6

Half of a Roman Architectonic Palm

Deſgodetz aſſert, that there were ſix Arches ſtill remaining of our Amphitheatre. As to that which is wanting at the Top, the Form thereof can be conceived very well from a printed View of the Coliſeum; and 'tis certain, that a Row of large Windows were placed in the higher part of Amphitheatres. That of *Rome* was built of *Travertine* Stone, as well in the Circuit or exterior Round, as in all the Pilaſters, Arches, Gates, Steps, and interior Stairs. *Travertine* is a hard Marble, dug up in our Country, partly red and white, of the Quarry of *Grezana*, as moſt People believe; which Quarry lies about ſeven Miles from the City. The Work is ruſtic, but magnificent, and it muſt have been more laborious to have plained and poliſhed the Stones here of our Amphitheatre, than the *Travertine* of *Rome*. The Order of all the three Stories is *Tuſcan*, tho' ſome have aſſerted, that it may be ſeen conſiſting of three different Orders. The more finiſhed part, namely, the upper Ornaments of the third Story, and the Capitals and Corniſhes of the other two, are of white Marble; the reſt regularly made of red, which doubtleſs muſt have afforded a moſt entertaining and ſymmetrical Proſpect to the Eye; the inner Stairs and the Steps alſo, may be ſeen, by what remains, to have been of red Marble. The Stones made uſe of were very large, ſince every one of them extends through the whole

Breadth under the Pilaſters, ſo as to front both ways; not diſpoſed regularly, but placed without equality, or the one correſponding to the other; all which we have exactly repreſented in the Drawing. For this Reaſon ſome Strangers, perhaps, have been of opinion, that the Architect ſhewed but little *skill therein, imagining that Architecture itſelf conſiſted chiefly in this. The Ruſticity of the Work, together with the Protuberances of the *Tuſcan* Order, ſeen in ſuch a Pile, and of ſuch Materials, ſeems to contribute towards Grandeur and Strength. The ancient Manner of not ſmoothing the whole Surface of the Stones of the inner Sides, which ought to join, is here obſervable; for they left a wide Border only ſmoothed, the middle part under it was rough, and not ſo high as the Edges; and this either to ſave Labour, or becauſe it could not be ſo eaſy to make them join exactly, if they were pieced together neatly throughout the whole Space; which, however, is not ſeen in every Point of View. By this Mark, ſometimes the Stones of ancient Edifices made uſe of in modern Buildings, may be diſtinguiſhed, and thereby ſome formerly belonging to the Amphitheatre are alſo known: Among the many others, which, in the Time of the *Scaligers*, were uſed in the Foundation of the Wall which ſurrounds the Captain's Garden, thoſe of them above ground are Evidences,

* *Diar. It. c.* 28. *Architectum non ſingularis pretii fuiſſe.*

that

that a great number of others have been laid in the Foundation of the foreſaid Wall.

In all this Circuit, and likewiſe in the interior Parts which are of Marble, we never find Lime or Mortar made uſe of, but the Stones placed one above another without any kind of Cement, and yet are pieced together in a very nice manner, claſped at the Top of the Arches with Pivots or Nails, and in the upright Parts, with Keys of Iron or Stones left projecting out in what was already built, the better to join them. Such was the antique Way of Building, and how very ancient, is clearly ſhewn in a Paſſage of [8] *Thucydides*, who, in deſcribing bulky Walls built round about the *Pireus* by the Advice of *Themiſtocles*, affirms, that *there neither was Sand nor Lime made uſe of in them, but large Stones linked together, and cut ſquare; the exterior ones were claſped together with Iron and Lead.* In this manner, I think, ought his Words to be underſtood. There are many Paſſages in the *Greek* Writers which confirm this Method in Building: Hence, as *Fontana* aſſerts, that the demoliſhing the Coliſeum, by reaſon of the Concatenation of the Stones and Iron Bracers, became a tough piece of Work to [9] thoſe

[8] *Lib.* 1. ἐντὸς δὲ ἦτε χαλιξ ἦτε πηλος ἦν ἀλλα ξυνωκοδομεμένοι μεγάλοι λίθοι, καὶ εν τομῆ εγγῶνιοι, σιδήρῳ πρὸς αλληλους τὰ ἐξωθεν καὶ μολυβδῳ δεδεμένοι.

[9] *By this our Author means the Family of* Parma, *who, in order to build the Palace* Farneſe, *demoliſhed part of the Coliſeum.*

who, in not a very remote Age from this, diſrobed or demoliſhed part of it. Such Ligatures or Cramps of Metal were only made uſe of in the outer Stones, as we have ſeen in the *Greek* Hiſtorian juſt now quoted, and confirms [10] *Vitruvius*'s Method, who preſcribed, that *the Stones in the Front of Buildings ſhould be linked together with Lead and Cramps of Iron.* From this uſage in the ancient Fabricks, the many Holes ſeen in the Coliſeum, happened to be made in proceſs of Time, of which ſo many ridiculous things have been ſaid, particularly that they either were done by the Hands of the *Barbarians*, or ſerved to have Stakes or Poles placed in them for ſupporting Tents at their publick Fairs. The Learned Biſhop *Suareſius* wrote a Treatiſe about them, reconciling ſix different Opinions concerning the Reaſons why ſuch Hollows appear. But we may believe it for certain, that nothing occaſioned ſuch Holes, but Peoples Greedineſs to take away the Metal which linked the Stones to one another. In effect, *Scamozzi*, in his Book of the Antiquities of *Rome*, aſſures us, that he knew that the Cramps of Metal in every part of the Coliſeum, were either taken away or attempted to be ſtolen. But perhaps in the middle Ages, Mettal was more ſcarce and dearer than at other times; and perhaps the

[10] *Vitruv. l.* 2. *c.* 8.

aban-

abandoning that part of the City where the Coliſeum ſtood, made it become the Reſort of Drovers and Shepherds, who from Poverty and Idleneſs may have been induced to do ſuch things. But I ſuſpect ſuch miſerable Theft as this, was already begun even in the time of King *Theodoric*, and the Reproof he gave thoſe who [11] robbed Lead and Metal from the Walls of Buildings, may have alluded to this. In the Arch of *Suſa* the very ſame kind of Holes are ſeen, as may be obſerved in the Print I have given of it in my *Hiſtoria Diplomatica*, and of the *Acts*, where I have cauſed ſuch Holes to be repreſented as they are. When I was on the ſpot, being asked what was the meaning of them, as a proof of what I have ſaid, I made them obſerve, how they are always found above the joinings of the Stones, and not ſeen beyond a certain Height; and becauſe every one there ſeemed diffident in that Particular, I immediately ſent for Chiſſels, and having cauſed ſuch another Hole to be made in a place of the Building till then untouched, the Keys or Cramps of Metal appeared very ſoon, which I carried away with me, and keep among my Collection of Antiquities. Beſides, that the Iron might claſp the better, and be kept free from Ruſt, we find it wrap'd over with Lead, by which the above-mentioned Paſſages of *Thucydides*

[11] *Caſſ. var. l.* 3. 31.

and *Vitruvius* appear true and are confirmed. *Gioan Battiſta Alberti* ſaid, he had obſerved in ancient Edifices, that Iron ſpoils and laſts a ſhort time; and ſo it does, but they preſerved it by the Method juſt now mentioned. The Effect of ſuch a Concatenation is wonderfully well perceived in one of the Wings of our Amphitheatre, which ſhall very ſoon be conſidered; for there we ſee the Stones aloft almoſt entirely detached from the others, and hanging without the Appearance of any thing ſupporting them: ſo likewiſe one of the upper Pilaſters is become very crooked, and removed in ſuch a manner from the reſt, as to appear ready to fall on thoſe who look at it; yet ſuch an Appearance has it made for ſeveral Ages, tho' every thing is kept in its place without falling.

There is one very conſiderable Difference to be obſerved in the Profile of the outer Walls of the *Roman* Amphitheatre and that of *Verona*, namely, that in the firſt, the Diminution obſerved in the Thickneſs of the Wall throughout every Story, inclines towards the Inſide, tho' the Wall itſelf is almoſt perpendicular: whereas, on the other hand, in that of *Verona*, the Wall always diminiſhes on the Inſide, and retires and is leſſened but little on the exteriour Surface. *Serlio* ſaid, that the diminiſhing towards the Inſide, as that of *Rome* does, gives greater Strength to the Building, and the Effect thereof ſeems indeed to confirm his

his Aſſertion, ſince ſo great a Part remains of the external Surface in the *Roman* Amphitheatre, and ſo little in that of *Verona*. Nevertheleſs, the Circuit or outer Round of that of *Pola*, which likewiſe diminiſhes on the Inſide, is entirely preſerv'd, and we ſee by the one and the other, that the contrary Method was uſed by the Ancients, and carries along with it the Advantage of admitting more Space in the higher Parts: The effect of which is firſt known in the Roof which covers our firſt Portico; ſince the Wall thereof is placed wholly on the Thickneſs of the lower Pilaſters, which becomes leſs in the ſecond Story; and we ſee the ſame alſo at the Foot of the other Roof above; ſince this likewiſe is laid on that Part which leſſens in the third.

CHAP. III.

The firſt Circuit of the Arena.

THE Arches of the *Arena*, or the Entries around it, were in Number Seventy two; thoſe of the *Coliſeum* Eighty, by which, and at the ſame time from the Meaſures of the great Pilaſters, and the Wideneſs of the Apertures, we find, that ours of *Verona* is not ſo very much leſs than it, as ſome imagine, tho' the wanting of the external

ternal Circuit, and ſuperb Front in ours, makes it appear ſmall, in compariſon of that of *Rome*. The Arches of the Amphitheatre, [if it was one] at *Nimes*, are only ſixty in Number, as we find in the *French Atlas* already mentioned. The Arches in that of *Capua* are ſaid to have been eighty, but thoſe who pretend to have ſurvey'd it on the ſpot, aſſure us, that there could not have been ſo many, and that it is very difficult at preſent, to determine the preciſe number of them, and very eaſy to make miſtakes therein. They affirm the ſame about this, as they do in making the Plan of it, with two exterior Portico's, the one near the other, that the Builders firſt had a view to make it exactly like that of *Rome*; but I ſhall not be ſo bold as to decide this matter.

Every Arch has its Number engraven upon it, as is ſeen in the Print; a Circumſtance never obſerv'd before by thoſe who have wrote about the Amphitheatre of *Rome*; and indeed very ill omitted, ſince ſuch Numbers ſerve to regulate the coming in and going out of a vaſt multitude of People, in a very ſhort ſpace of Time, without being crouded, or occaſioning the leaſt confuſion; the Inhabitants of different Diſtricts being ſo divided and ranged, as to have the particular Gate aſſigned them where they were to enter. The like was practiſed even in the *Circus*, after the People were divided into thirty *Curia's*,

Curia's, and every one their Places allotted them by *Tarquin*, as we read in [1] *Halicarnaſſeus* and *Livy*. Theſe above-mentioned Numbers are engraven on the Architraves, with the Mark of the Liſt they contain'd: Thoſe of the *Roman* Amphitheatre, which has thirty one of them remaining, namely, from XXIII, to LIIII, are without any other Ornament, between the Architrave and the Arch-roof, or Face of the Arch; for which reaſon I have ſhewn them ſo in my Draught. Of the Stones marked with this Number, placed above the Arches of our Amphitheatre, but now for the moſt part deſtroy'd, one of them is ſtill ſeen in the middle Pile of the Bridge *delle Navi*; another in the Gate *delle Carozze* of Signor *Bertoldo Pellegrini*, where for ſeveral Ages it has ſerved for Poſts.

There remains a part of the Rows of the lower Pillars, under ground, as the Drawing ſhews; the Reaſon of this is not, as [2] *Lipſius* imagined [tho' the Truth is, he appears to have been but ill inſtructed in Architectonic Matters] when he writes, that the Earth giving way, ſuch great Piles of Building ſunk with their vaſt Weight downwards, in the manner we ſee them: whereas every one knows, that if any kind of Building does not reſt firm and ſolid where they placed it at firſt,

[1] *D. Hal. lib.* 1. *Liv. l.* 2.
[2] *Amph. cap.* 7. *deſident terra cedente.*

or

or if the Foundation ſhould give way, they muſt of courſe be disjointed, and immediately fall to the ground. So that all this proceeds from the Ground being raiſed round about it, according to that fatal Diſorder which happens frequently in Cities, when they don't take precautions againſt it; and this by reaſon of Rubbage fallen down, or brought into them. But notwithſtanding this, we may, if we pleaſe, at preſent have the pleaſure to ſee one of the great Pilaſters of our Amphitheatre uncovered as low as its Bottom, the Earth having been removed on purpoſe, which gives us likewiſe a View of the interior Flooring of the Portico.

Theſe Pilaſters from the Floor to the Impoſt, are ten Feet ten Inches in Height; at the Bottom they have a Pavement above half a Foot high, which comes out near as much more further than the remaining Part, and ſerves as a Baſement. The Capital [ſo was the Impoſt of the Arch called, becauſe it goes all round] is one Foot eight Inches high, and the Projection eight Inches. The Front of the Pilaſters ſix Feet three Inches, of which Meaſure the Side encreaſes ſomething more than half a Foot. The Counter-front is ſomething leſs than an Inch, in the fore Part; ſo in proportion it is in the other interior Parts: all of them being made to retire or contract in proportion, as they met towards the Point. The Counter-pilaſter,

or

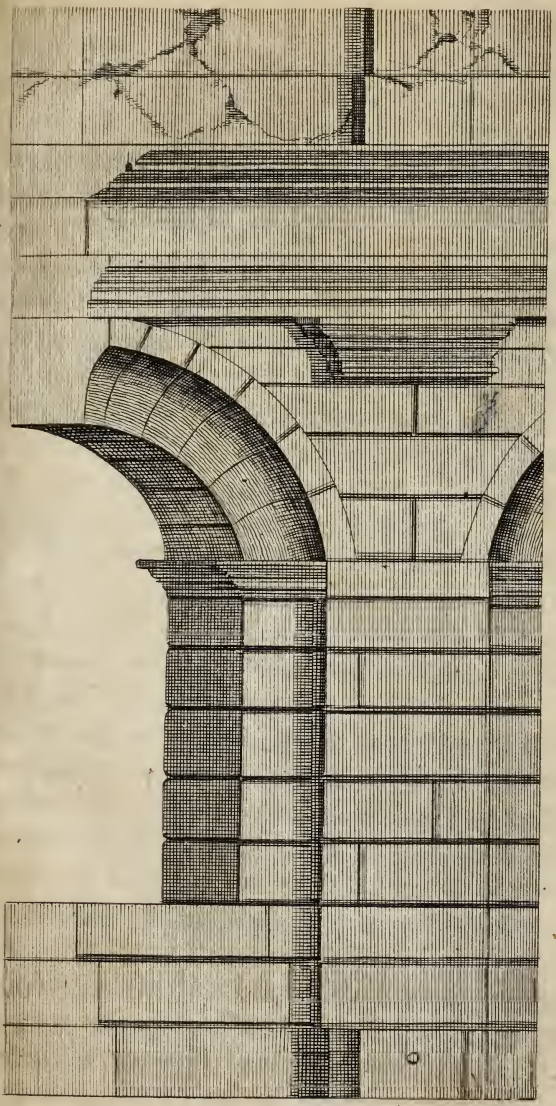
or the flat Pillar runs from the Foot of it to the Top, and dividing the Capital of the Pilaſter, helps to ſupport the Architrave; its Breadth is two Feet eight Inches, Height nineteen Foot, of Projection ſomething leſs than an Inch, and a Foot and a half in the Capital; and as there are no Pillars in this Building, I have made no Model, but uſed the ſame Meaſure of Feet and Inches. In the *Roman* Amphitheatre, the lower Pilaſters have ſix Feet eight Inches of Front, and in the Middle of them, in place of our Counter-pilaſter, a half *Doric* Pillar, which projects two Feet eight Inches. The Breadth of the Voids in the Arches is thirteen Feet. *Fontana* gives us no other Meaſures which make for our purpoſe, but theſe; ſo that we ſhall eaſily make diſpatch.

The Breadth of the empty Spaces of our Arches, namely, of the four Entries which remain, is eleven Feet eight Inches, tho' not ſo in every Place, as ſhall be mentioned elſewhere: The Height of the Arch from the Pavement to the Top, is eighteen Feet. As thoſe Voids ſerved in place of ſo many Gates, ſo except on the occaſion of performing the Shews, they were kept ſhut; and therefore on the Sides of the Pilaſters near the Front [as we ſee here by the Draught of the Section] the Cavities appear to be from the Ground to the Capital, almoſt a Foot wide, in which the Grates or Gates were placed;

placed; by which it appears they did not open, but on ſolemn Days were taken away all together. The Architrave above the Capitals of the plain Pillars, is 2 Feet high; next follows the Freeze, higher 2 Inches. The one and the other are formed plain and unpoliſhed, from two Faſciæ, if we may call them ſo; the lowermoſt with its Prominence, the other goes inward. However, the Corniſh is ornamented, and is 1 Foot 8 Inches high, having as much more of Projection.

Proceeding to the ſecond Floor, firſt of all there is a Faſcia which ſurrounds it, in height one Foot three Inches; above which the Pilaſters riſe 12 Feet 2 Inches; next are their Capitals, in height 1 Foot 8 Inches: at the foot of them is a *Laſtra in coſta*, or flatten'd Stone, ſet edgeways, not ruſtic but ſmooth, 3 Feet 6 Inches high, and 8 Inches thick; which, by its projecting out two ways, and by the Smoothing and Impreſſion made on the Ground, we know it has been continued all around, and ſerved as a Parapet and Fence to thoſe who may have walked in the Paſſage or Covered Way of that Story. The Front or Breadth of the Pilaſters is 5 Feet 6 Inches, their Side is as much; the plain Pillar which they have in the middle is 2 Feet 10 Inches broad, and projects 6 Inches, high above the *Laſtra in Coſta* 21 Feet 8 Inches, its Capital 1 Foot 8 Inches, the Pilaſtrata or Range of Pilaſters, which ſupport the

Plate VI.



S. Auesan D.

the Arch, beſides the Laſtra, are 3 Feet 6 Inches, high 8 Feet 8 Inches, broad 1 Foot 3 Inches; the Projection of the Impoſt half a Foot, the Height of the Arch 20 Feet 2 Inches, Breadth of the Void between the Arches 12 Feet 3 Inches, tho' not all of them alike. The Thickneſs of the Vault or Roof below, and the Flooring above, of which we ſee the Marks in the Pilaſters, amounted to about 2 Feet 2 Inches. The Architrave of this Story is 1 Foot 7 Inches high, the Freeze 1 Foot 9 Inches, the Corniſh 1 Foot 4 Inches, and are of the ſame Form with thoſe aforeſaid.

In the third Story, the three Faſciæ or Bindings, which ſerve as a Parapet, are 5 Feet high, the Front of the Pilaſters in breadth 8 Feet 8, the Side 2 Feet; the Arch 12 Feet 8 Inches high, the Pilaſtrata in height 8 Feet, the Impoſt 1 Foot 2, the plain Pillars, perpendicular above the others, are 4 Feet 4 broad; but we muſt remark, that they looſe themſelves from the Capitals of the Pilaſters upward, the whole Wall remaining equal; which cannot be ſeen by thoſe which ſtand below, as much on account of the Diſtance, as becauſe of the Capital, 1 Foot 9 Inches; which, notwithſtanding what is above, the Breadth of the Void is 9 Feet 6 Inches; the Arch in Front, as made a * *Guſcio*, with Apertures, ſo very well proportioned, Semicircles ſo well turned, Stones hollowed in

* N.B. Guſcio *ſignifies the Encarpion of* Vitruvius, *and is an* Ornament *of the Capital of the* Ionic *Order.*

ſo

ſo maſterly a Manner, and with ſuch a delightful Harmony of Ornaments, and ſo well diſpos'd to the Eye, that whoever ſees it, at a reaſonable Diſtance, and as high as is poſſible, cannot ſatiate themſelves with beholding its Beauty. Of this there is a View in Plate VI. where the upper ornamented part of this Story is alſo exhibited, which meaſures four Foot ſix Inches in all, but more of this in the next Chapter.

CHAP. IV.

The upper Ornaments of the Tuſcan *Order, never before taken notice of by Architects.*

TO arrive at a true and perfect Knowledge of the Architectonic Parts preſerved in the external Circuit of the Amphitheatre, there remains nothing but to obſerve it in great, with all the Meaſures of its different Members, together with their *Abaci* or Dye of the Capital, Fillets, and *Gulæ*, all which are repreſented in the *7th* Plate. But the upper Ornaments of the third Story, with the Capitals on which they reſt, deſerve our particular regard, ſince we may make thereby a new and important Diſcovery, for ſupplying the place of a Ceiling, if we may ſo call it, which is ſtill practiſed in Building. When in the Age 1400, the

the Study of the Arts and Sciences began to revive in *Italy*; an Elegancy likewiſe in Architecture, after the ancient Taſte, was at the ſame time advancing, and gaining ground by the pains People took to examine the *Roman* Buildings minutely. The chief Maſters in Architecture having, for the publick good, collected from them, and at different Times publiſhed the Rules laid down in the Orders, one of their chief Cares was to obſerve the Ornaments of the Ancients; there having been ſeveral Edifices which had preſerved them, and from which they could be learnt. The *Doric* they chiefly came acquainted with, by examining the Theatre of *Marcellus*; the *Ionic*, from the Temple of *Fortuna Virilis*; the *Corinthian*, from the *Pantheon* of *Agrippa*; the *Compoſite*, from the Triumphal Arch of *Titus*; and the whole, from Remains here and there to be ſeen. The *Tuſcan* Order only, was that wherein they were left in the dark, there having been no ancient Edifice found in *Rome*, whereon the Ornaments thereof were preſerved: For this Reaſon ſome have believed, that as it was more maſſy than the others, it muſt therefore have been entirely rough and deprived of every Beauty in the Art; moſt People affirming, that the Architraves of the *Tuſcan* were of Wood, as if it had been impoſſible for any noble Fabrick to be made in that Order. Notwithſtanding all this, 'tis my Opinion

that this Order ought to be inveſtigated with more Care than the others; not only as it is peculiarly and natively our own, and of *Italy*, but the very firſt and moſt ancient of any. The Compoſite, the laſt Order of all, was likewiſe *Italian*; ſo that of the five, *Greece* invented three, *Italy* two: of theſe laſt, one is the ſtrongeſt of any, the other the moſt ornamented; the firſt paved the way for the others, the laſt put a Boundary to the Art. Beſides, the *Tuſcan* deſerved to be more ſtudied than the others, becauſe therein is comprehended more than is commonly believed, nor did it conſiſt of one Manner only. I learn from [2] *Vitruvius*, where he makes mention of the different kinds of the *Tuſcan*, that there were ſome who tranſpoſed the Diſpoſitions of the *Tuſcan* Pillars into the *Ionic* and *Corinthian*: however, he did not reckon the *Tuſcan* among the three *Greek* Orders, nor the *Compoſite* either; nor in treating of the other Pillars, does he ſpeak of the *Tuſcan*: he rather ſpoke of the *Tuſcan* Uſage, with regard to the Diſtribution of their Temples, which as to the Symmetry of the ornamented Parts, we may here conclude that they were variouſly compoſed.

Leon Battiſta Alberti the *Florentine*, who was the firſt after the Ages of the Ancients that publiſhed a full and learned Treatiſe

[2] *L. 4. c. 7. de Tuſcanicis generibus.*

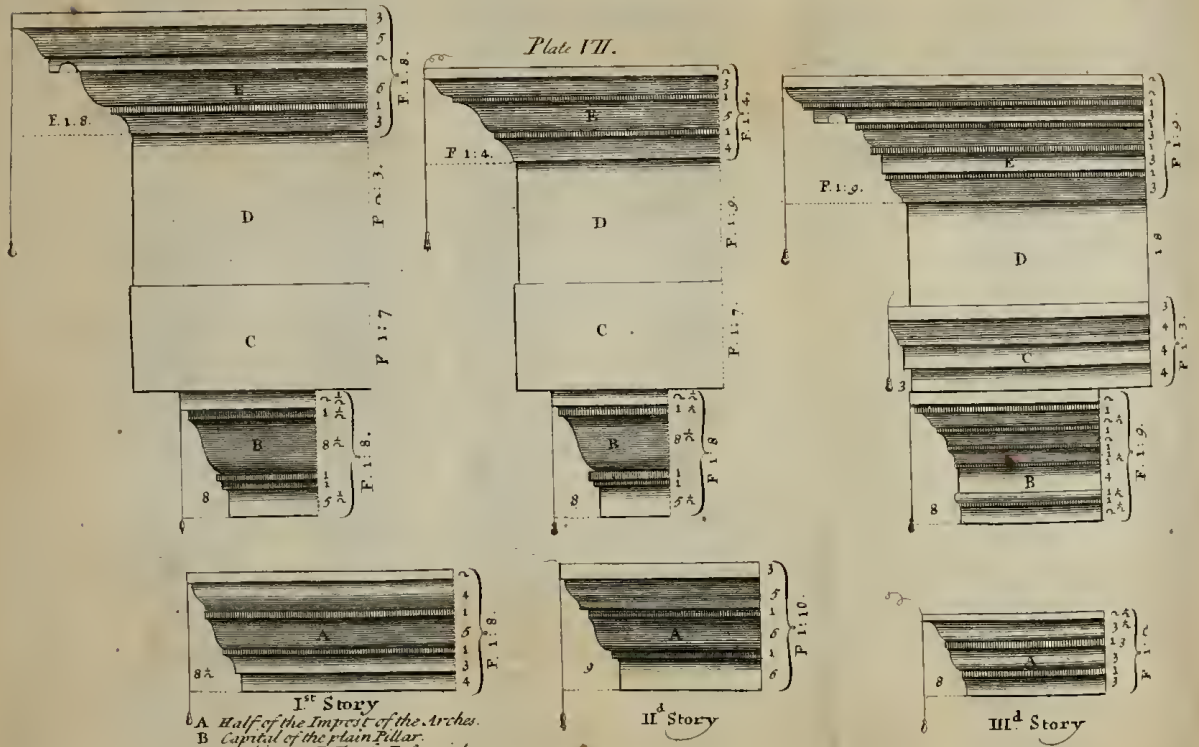
about Architecture, in his ſeventh Book deſcribes the Ornaments of the other four Orders, but ſpoke nothing about the *Tuſcan*; and indeed, did not reckon it among the Orders. Nor is there any Miſtake made in the Tranſlation of his Book, which, by dividing it into Chapters, in the Argument prefixed to the eighth Chapter of the ſeventh Book ſays, that there he treats of the Capital of the *Tuſcan*; tho' afterwards, when he ſpeaks of the *Compoſite*, the Arguments made uſe of there are not in the original *Latin* of the Author, printed after his death at *Florence*, in the Year 1485; where, on the other hand, in the foregoing Chapter, the vulgar Verſion has it, that *the* Tuſcans *adopted into their Capitals all the Ornaments they could find.* The *Latin* ſays, that the *Italians* did the like; by this he means the Capital of the *Compoſite* or *Roman* Order. Some other Writers have bred a Confuſion therein, particularly *Vaſari*, who ſays, that the *Roman* or *Compoſite* Order was found out by the *Tuſcans*, and calls the *Tuſcan* by the Name of the *Ruſtick* Order. *Daniel Barbaro*, in his noble Tranſlation and Illuſtration of *Vitruvius*, treated almoſt of every thing fully, but did not enter upon the upper ornamented Parts of the *Tuſcan*, his Author having mentioned nothing concerning it. *Baſtian Serlio*, however, gave us its Form, tho' the whole was the Product

of his own Invention and Fancy; nor, indeed, had he great Succeſs therein. *Philander*, a Diſciple of *Serlio*, being called into *France* by *Francis* I. carried Architecture with him beyond the *Alps:* In illuſtrating *Vitruvius* he endeavoured likewiſe to ſhew all the Parts of the *Tuſcan* Order, but took it neither from his Author, nor had the Authority of any ancient Edifice to ſupport it. *Barozzi* from *Vignola*, confeſſed candidly, that in this part he had made uſe of his own Imagination, becauſe he ſays, *he had not found any of the* Tuſcan *Ornaments among the Antiquities of* Rome, *by which he could form a Rule in that, as he could in the other four Orders.* For which Reaſon [4] *Chambray* in his Book ſays, that ſince Architects could not find any Example among the Ancients, of the upper ornamented part of the *Tuſcan* Order, he does therefore, he ſays, not regard their Inventions. And yet for all this, it is certain, that thoſe Maſters might eaſily have ſupplied that Want, and have been able with good ground, to have ſhewn what the true Ornaments of the *Tuſcan* were, if they had but conſidered our Arena more accurately, than what they have done; for in the third Story thereof it is to be ſeen intirely well preſerved, and elegantly executed. In reading *Andrea Palladio*'s firſt Book, where he ſays he took the Coun-

[4] *P.* 2. *c.* 3.

terpoiſe

Plate VII.



I^st Story

II^d Story

III^d Story

A *Half of the Impost of the Arches.*
B *Capital of the plain Pillar.*
C. *Architrave.* D *Freese.* E. *Cornish.*

terpoiſe of the Architraves, Freeze and *Tuſcan* Corniſh, from the *Arena* of *Verona*; I immediately thought that he alone had hit the Mark: but obſerving that after this he ſhews an Architrave without Members, a Freeze without poliſhing, a Corniſh with other Parts, and the Whole with various Meaſures: I then perceived that he too, becauſe of the Narrowneſs of the Street where the Building ſtands, neglected, as well as the others, to obſerve the uppermoſt Story, which alone deſerved moſt to have been conſider'd; ſo that he govern'd himſelf entirely, by only remarking the two Stories below, and even thoſe he perhaps mixed with what he had ſeen in other Buildings, from which, he ſays, he had likewiſe taken it. *Scamozi*, who labour'd on the *Tuſcan* Order, according to his own Fancy, pretended he had taken the whole from the Remains of ancient Buildings; but in our Amphitheatre he might have ſeen it entire and well executed, and ſo might have learned thereby not to have put the Heads of his Beams in his Freeze.

But leaving the two lower Stories where the Architraves and Freeze are formed by two ruſtic *Faſciæ*, as the reſt are, we may firſt obſerve, that the Capital, by which the higheſt Architrave is ſupported, contains twice as many Parts as the others, with a rounding and ſtrait *Gula* between two Reverſes.

The Architrave is next divided into four Parts, two Stories, a Reverſe, *Gula*, and a Liſt. We may ſee a Piece of this when we look near, in the Tower called *dell Orgoglio*, of the old Caſtle, contiguous to the Arch *de Gavii*, where the largeſt Stones there, were almoſt all taken from the outer Circuit of the Amphitheatre. The Freeze is ſimple, but ſmooth and poliſhed; and from this Order it would ſeem, that the *Doric* of the *Coliſeum* has been taken. Next follows the Corniſh, conſiſting likewiſe of a double number of Members more than what are in the others, extremely well diſpoſed, with a Waterſpout, as appears by the Draught. This is the Manner in which the Ornaments of the *Tuſcan* Order were divided, and very different from thoſe of the other Orders, tho' more ſolid, noble, and ſymmetrical. Some, I doubt not, will however not allow theſe upper Ornaments to be any thing elſe but *Doric*; and if ſo, the pretended diſcovery of the *Tuſcan* Order would fall to the ground. But whoever obſerves the two Stories below, will be of a different Opinion; for from them we may very ſafely conclude, that the upper Stories can be nothing elſe but *Tuſcan*, ſince the Stories of any Building muſt either be all of different Orders, or of one kind only. In the *Coliſeum*, 'tis true, every one of them are different, and in the *Settizonio* or ſeven Zones of *Severus*, they are all *Corinthian*.

Da-

Daviler, a Modern, and a *French* Man, in his Courſe of Architecture, or rather Tranſlation and Commentary on *Vignola*, affirms, there is no ancient Monument, in which the regular *Tuſcan* Order can be found, and that the Amphitheatres of *Verona*, *Pola*, and *Nimes*, are too ruſtic to ſerve for a Rule to the *Tuſcan*, ſo as to give it a place among the other Orders. *Blondel*, another *French*-man, on the contrary, who has wrote a Courſe of Architecture on *Vitruvius*, *Palladio*, *Vignola*, and *Scamozio*, called our three Orders of Pilaſters *Doric*. So that tho' they were ruſtick, they appear'd to him to be more than *Tuſcan*, if I may ſay ſo, and more ornamented than what they are. But I cannot well underſtand, how any Mortal, eſpecially an Architect, can [from unpoliſhed Stones, grown brown and rough with age] judge any piece of Architecture to be bad; on the contrary, it would be better, if he had imagined that ſuch a majeſtick, regular, and ſymmetrical Edifice ought to be reckoned among thoſe not made by chance, but conceived according to ſome kind of Order or another: ſo that I think, all that *Daviler* would ſay, is, that Amphitheatres have no Order of Architecture in them at all. Beſides, this Gentleman condemns the making *Bugne*, as we call them; namely, round Knobs, *Protuberances* [or *Bozze*, according to the *Tuſcan* Way of expreſſing it] in the Stones of the

Pilaſters, which he ſays breed confuſion, and makes it loſe his Form. Hence he greatly condemns the Architecture of the Amphitheatre of *Verona*, where he would have theſe *Bozze* or Knobs, to be only placed in the Body of the Building, not in the Pilaſters; but if ſo, I think it would produce a ſhocking Diſagreement to the Eye, and the whole loſe a great deal of its Grandeur. But the marvellous Man did not think fit to obſerve, that this is a Building, the whole exterior Part of which conſiſts only of Pilaſters and Arches. What regards the Form of the Order being loſt by ſuch a Ruſticity in the Work, as appear'd likewiſe to *Chambray*; theſe able Men might eaſily have known their Error, if [abſtracting from the two lower Stories, which likewiſe are regular and well underſtood, and beſides their Capitals and Corniſhes, which are ſurely not *en boſſage*] they had liſted their Eyes up to the Top of the *Ala* or Flat, were they would have ſeen the upper ornamented Part ſo elegant, and well conducted, that any who ſhould declare he did not reliſh it, muſt have himſelf a very dull Taſte in ſuch Things. And tho' the Narrowneſs of the Street on that ſide of the Amphitheatre, does in a great meaſure deprive People of the Pleaſure of viewing it to advantage; that does not however hinder Strangers, who are Lovers of ſo fine an Art, to be conducted to a certain high

ıigh Window, tho' of a mean Houſe, a ittle diſtant from it: for there the fine Arches f the third Story, with all the higher Ornaments, furniſh him with an agreeable View; the whole conſiſting of elegant and perfect Architecture.

Deſgodetz, who named no particular Order as ſubſiſting in this Fabrick, in his laſt Plate, ſhews the *Profile* in large, of all the Parts which we have been hitherto deſcribing; and in ſome of them he corrected *Serlio*, whoſe Miſtakes perhaps, in ſome of the Members, are owing to the Engraver, in repreſenting Things wrong. I am aſtoniſhed hat neither the one nor the other ſhould ſo nuch as reflect, that here they had the rue Compoſition of the *Tuſcan* Order: But he Care and Induſtry of *Deſgodetz* was ıere not ſufficient, in endeavouring to repreent the Truth fully. The Impoſt in the irſt Order is right, as is likewiſe the Capial of the Counter-pilaſters, or plain Pillars, which he calls Pilaſters; but that wherein ıe fails, is in placing a kind of Baſement under he Freeze, which is not in the Building it elf, nor indeed has ever been there.

There is a ſmall Difference in the Meaſure of the Members or Parts of the Corniſh; in he higher Order, the Impoſt of the Arch has not that Story below, nor that Diſpoſiion of the Meaſures, the two higher *Gulæ* being almoſt equal. The Architrave likewiſe,

wiſe, does not occaſion the Faſciæ to be ſo narrow, which would take away from its Gracefulneſs; nor does it cauſe the reverſe Gulæ to appear exceedingly narrow, which would have a mighty bad Effect too, but has all the three Members or Parts very near equal. The Corniſh, according to *Deſgodetz*, has a different Proportion of the Members, as may be obſerved by comparing it with the other, and not very well correſponding with the ancient Manner; nor is there any thing like a Drain for Water to be ſeen.

The fourth Story might perhaps be more ornamented, was ſomething added to the Freeze. Two large Pieces of the Fabric, which appear to have been parts of the great Windows, are ſtill to be ſeen near the Amphitheatre; one of which has been made uſe of in building up a modern Wall under the Gallery in the middle; the other that ſtood above, lies in the Porch of the ſecond Story. The Height whereon the ſecond, which is vaſtly great, had lodg'd, ſhews that it had fallen from the higheſt part of all; in theſe we ſee that the great Windows had a Border round them, which is not in the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, and that the Traverſe above was ſomething like an Arch. But further, a Piece of an ancient Architrave had lain for a long time a few Paces from the Amphitheatre, which at preſent I order'd to be brought within the Building; and digging in the Situation of the

externa

external Circuit, two Fragments of the Corniſh were found, which fit ſuch an Architrave extremely well. The Order in theſe is Compoſite, and the Parts and Workmanſhip intirely like that of *Titus's* Arch. We cannot imagine that they are Remains of the Top of the Building; firſt, becauſe, as we have ſaid a little before, the two lower Stories ſhew of what Order even the upper ones have been. Secondly, becauſe ſuch Carvings would not have been ſuitable to ſo vaſt a Height, nor have agreed with the reſt. I'm therefore much more inclinable to believe, that thoſe parts belong'd to the Veſtibule of the principal Gate, in which Situation they were alſo dug up; of which we ſhall ſpeak in its due place.

CHAP. V.

That the Statues mention'd by Ligorio *are fabulous.*

BEfore I leave treating about the outer Circuit, I find it convenient to ſpeak of the Statues, aſſerted by ſome to have been round the Amphitheatre. *Ligorio,* in his Draught, places one before every ſquare Pillar of the third Story; which, becauſe of the Beauty of the thing, it was enough to make it well receiv'd by every body; in ſo

ſo much, that no Drawing of the Amphitheatre has ſince that time been made, without Statues. Such a Repreſentation ſtruck Peoples Fancies ſo much, that without the like Figures, many think Amphitheatres are nothing at all. Nay, by way of emulating our Arena, Statues are now exhibited too, in the Prints of other Amphitheatres. And yet for all this, it is undoubtedly certain, that Statues neither were, ought to have been, nor could have been there; nor is it a little derogatory from the true Idea of Architecture, to make people believe that the Ancients placed Statues in ſuch a ridiculous manner, *viz.* on the outſide of ſuch a Building, and before Walls or Pilaſters, without any Niches, and above the Projection of a Corniſh, which had not Subſtance or Strength ſufficient to ſupport them, and where they could not have had room to ſtand, unleſs they had been ſix times leſs than what the Diſtance would require. Moreover, our obſerving no ſuch Statues to have been ever placed on the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, [which was a Work much more ſumptuous and ornamented than ours, and in which City there were ſo great a Number of Sculptures] was enough to convince us, that none ever were on the Amphitheatres of the *Municipia*, and at a diſtance from *Rome*. I own, 'tis true, Figures are repreſented in Medals on the ſecond and third Stories of the Coliſeum.

liſeum, but theſe only within the Voids and below the Arches, where they might have had a Place; but not in the Situation where they have placed Statues on our Amphitheatre. Nay, I believe it very probable, that thoſe Figures on the Medals, do not repreſent Statues of Marble or Metal, except perhaps thoſe above the principal Entry; and whatever is repreſented in other Places, I take to be nothing elſe but counterfeited Ornaments, which may have been made of Wood or Canvas, and placed occaſionally on the Days when their ſolemn Shews were to be exhibited, denoting a Feſtival, and ranged by way of adorning, or ſetting forth the Building, or to do honour to the Perſon who may have given the Game.

I am confirmed in this Conjecture, for having in *Turin* found the Abbot *Filippo Juvara* of *Meſſina* of the ſame Opinion; an Architect that ſupports the Honour of this Age, and ſets it upon a Level with thoſe of Antiquity; and it is manifeſtly certain, by all the Obſervations made at *Rome*, in the ſame Situation of the Amphitheatre, that never have any Veſtiges appear'd, or the leaſt Remain of Pedeſtals or Baſes, or any kinds of Statues been dug up in that Part. Hence it is, perhaps, that the ſame Medal of *Titus*, of a middle ſize, exhibited by me, has not the Appearance of any ſuch Figures

gures upon it. 'Tis alſo for this reaſon, that in the different Medals we have, thoſe Figures are different alſo. Beſides, whereas in the fourth Story of the Coliſeum, we ſee Windows alternately ſquared in the Medals, yet we find the intermediate Spaces not bare, as they are in the Fabric, but filled up with certain roundiſh Figures, which appear like Shields; nor could they have been any thing elſe, but counterfeited Ornaments, to be placed or taken away, juſt as occaſion required. In the high Machine deſcribed by [5] *Herodian*, and made uſe of at the Deification of the Emperors; he relates that various Pictures and Figures of Ivory were placed around it: and in the Medal of *Antoninus*, we ſee that, together with the Machine, there is repreſented a Statue at the Top; and yet it is moſt certain that this Statue was not of Marble, or Metal, ſince it muſt have been wholly burnt and reduced to Aſhes on that occaſion. The Theatre was the propereſt Place for Statues, and yet neither that of *Pompey*, nor the others, had durable Statues placed on the outſide of them.

Father [6] *Montfaucon*, in his *Diarium Italicum*, and alſo in his Collection of Antiquities, places a great Number of Images round the Amphitheatre of *Capua*, which Building (according to that much-eſteemed Writer) was attended with better Fortune than

[5] *Herodian, lib.* 4. [6] *Cap.* 22.

what

what is common to other Things in *Italy*; and ſo tells, that above the Epiſtylia, or Chapiters of the Pillars of the undermoſt Story, the Heads of the Gods are ſtill remaining: Above the ſecond Floor the Gods themſelves from the Navel upward: Above the third, the Statues of thoſe Divinities. At the ſame time he obſerves, that ſuch Ornaments were wanting in the *Roman Coliſeum*, and adds, what a fine Sight it is to ſee in one ſingle Round or Circuit, the whole Aſſembly of the antient Deities, in their true Form and Likeneſs. 'Twould ſeem by all this, as if that Author believed, the Epiſtylia or Chapiters of the Pillars, in every different Order, did extend in ſuch a manner, as that in the firſt place, they ſhould contain the Figures as far as their Breaſt, then with their whole Buſto, next their whole Length: But this, I own, is a very new and uncommon Method, and the firſt time we ever heard that Buſts and Statues ſtood upon the Chapiters of the Pillars; becauſe if you will by that Word *Epiſtylium*, either underſtand the Architrave, as we have reaſon to imagine it, and in the Senſe that *Vitruvius* uſes it; or the Capitals, as others underſtand it, and commonly explain it falſely; 'tis in my Opinion, a very diverting Story, to hear that Statues reſted on Architraves, put under Freezes, or on Capitals under Architraves. In the Book of *Les Antiquitez Expliques*, or *Anti-*

Antiquities Explained, 'tis ſaid that theſe Things *reſted upon every Pillar,* but that the half Pillars all around had the Architrave laid upon them; it is not leſs diverting to think, that becauſe they had a Place for 80 Figures there, that that was the Reaſon why they ſhould repreſent the Gods in that Place, as if the *Romans* had juſt ſo many principal and common Divinities to be ranged in the ſame Rank. The truth is, that in the two lower Arches remaining there are upon every one of the Keys of the Arches a Face cut in Relievo, with the beginning of the Buſt; nor had the higher Orders any more upon them: For we may ſee the Arches in the Coliſeum were exactly alike too, in all the four Storys.

There are ſome who from the foreſaid Deſcription have been induced to aſſert, that abundance of Buſtos and Niches were alſo in the Coliſeum, placed above the Inner Entries, tho' of theſe there is not the leaſt Veſtige remaining, nor indeed can a proper Place be aſſigned there for ſuch Ornaments.

But to return to our Statues: Some Plinths, or rather Dyes, ſeen upon the ſecond Corniſh at the Foot of the plain Pillars, gave riſe to that common Miſtake, as appears by the Draught: But theſe are ſo minute, that had they been taken for Figures, they muſt have been very ſmall indeed, when at that Height, they ought to have been Coloſſus's, ſupported with

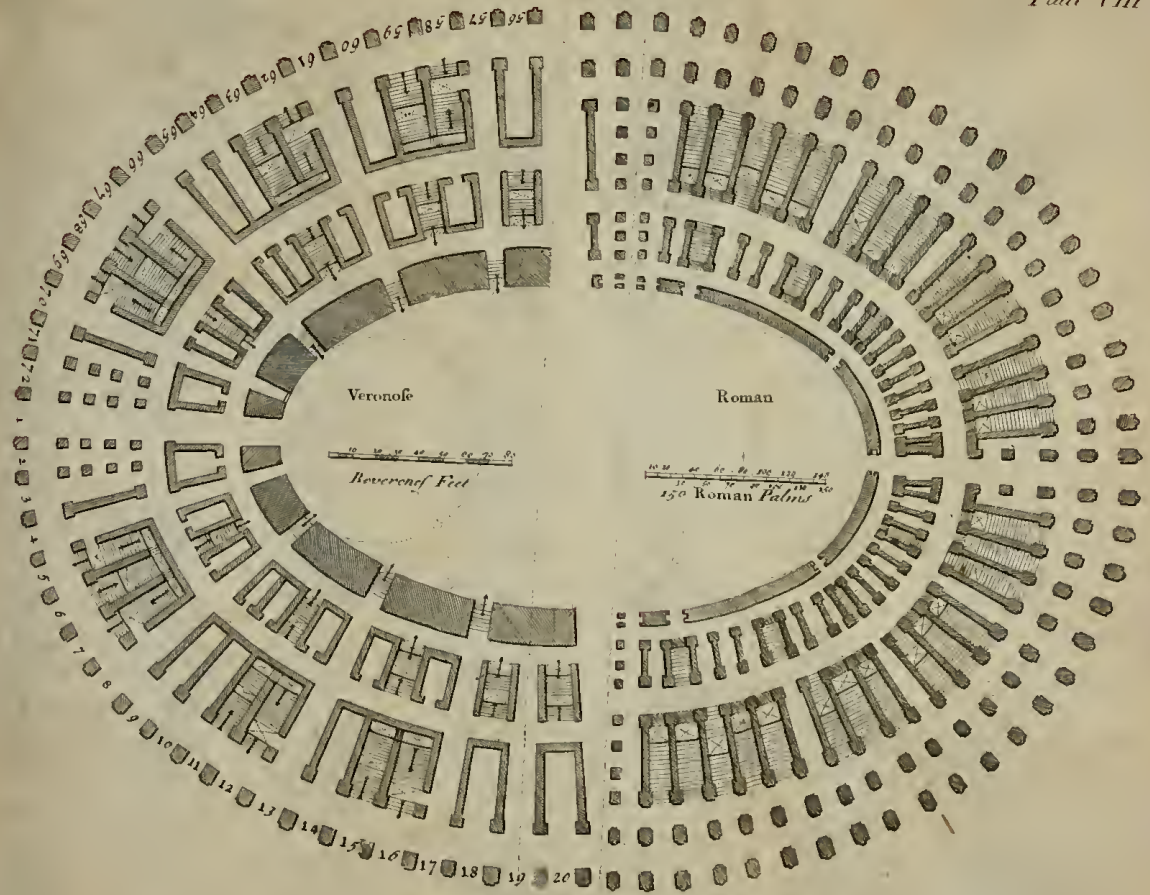
with large Pedeſtals, and a Cavity in the Wall for receiving them. Nor can I imagine that 70 of ſuch great Statues could have been ſo very much annihilated, but that a great many pieces of them muſt ſtill be ſeen, and dug up from time to time. If any ſhould ask for what Uſe the formentioned Plinths ſerved, I anſwer, in the firſt place, that I have obſerv'd a ſquare Hole in the middle of every one of them, in which a piece of Wood may have been fixed with another Cavity before, as is marked in the Drawing; which laſt ſerved by way of a Spout for the Diſcharge of the Water: From which we may gather, that the ſaid Void was not always full nor covered. I have alſo remarked, how other ſuch kinds of Dyes were likewiſe above the third Corniſh, two of them being ſtill to be ſeen at the foot of the ſquare Pillars of the uppermoſt Story; and we may believe it for certain, that they have been hollowed, not in the middle, but near the Wall, on purpoſe that the Beams might be placed on, and reſt in them, which boring the uppermoſt Corniſh, ſerved for the Velarium. The like I have obſerved at *Pola*, where, in the ſame Situation, Stones are ſeen exactly ſimilar, with a Hole above, joining to the Hollow of the Wall. But of thoſe in our Amphitheatre, which are on the ſecond Corniſh, and with the Hole in the middle, I cannot make any other Conjecture about

them, but that on the days when they exhibited their Shews, and when the People assembled together in the Amphitheatre, they may have very probably planted Standards, Trophies, Images of Pasteboard, Figures, and other such Ornaments; the whole alluding to the Solemnity.

CHAP. VI.

Plan of the Building, the Passages, and Ingress to the Area.

BEing willing to proceed in the Description, I first of all think fit to shew the general Plan; I also give that of the Coliseum by *Fontana*, *Desgodetz*, and others, which we may almost suspect was more taken from *Serlio* than from Truth, and which, in the Sequel of this Treatise will appear: as also how many Errors have been hitherto committed in their treating of the Amphitheatre, will still be more evident, when we come to speak of the second Story. Our own Plan has as much with regard to the Ground-Plot, as that of the higher Parts, being altogether taken from the Truth still subsisting; nor could the same Story in that of *Rome* be different in the general Distribution of its Parts. In both the Draughts I have added an Arcade, raised more than the half,


Veronese
Roman
Reverend Feet
150 Roman Palms

half, that thereby we may see the Effect of the middle Passage cross-ways. By our Draught we know what it really was, and by that of *Rome* in what manner they have imagin'd it to have been. The whole is formed together, as is seen by the four Enclosures and the three elliptical covered Ways. By the Enclosure I understand the Place built between the one Void and the other; that of *Rome* was exactly the like, only the latter was doubled on the outside with an additional Portico, having two in all, and the one near the other, supported above the Arches, and divided by square Pilasters.

Altho' in this Chapter our sole Intention is to treat of the Passages which led into the Area, 'tis however necessary that we should shew, that the inner Enclosure consists of a Wall, quite solid, 15 Foot thick, which had the lowermost Steps and the Podium resting upon it; and as the six Apertures on each side, which is in it, did not lead into the Area, but by four small inward Steps, every one of which is eight Inches high, by these they ascended to the Podium, which in rising, formed the fifth Step. There is one of those Passages, wherein the ancient small Steps are preserved entire, with that Lastra or flat Stone, which, within the Thickness of the Wall, forms the Flooring before it. We afterwards remark, that the two Passages in the middle, cross-ways, are neither larger than

the other common Stairs, nor do they leadinto the Field; on the contrary, proceeding between two Walls, they terminate in the interior Portico, and have the Wall in Front: ſo that whoever came by them, muſt have aſcended to the Podium by one of the two neareſt Apertures. Undoubtedly it was the ſame in the *Roman* Amphitheatre, for the Reaſons ſhewn in the Sequel; ſo that only in the Space which is from the firſt Entry to the third Portico, could iſolated Pilaſters have been, and a Communication of the three Paſſages, as is uſual to be ſhewn in Draughts. On the other hand, the interior Encloſure has two Apertures at the Extremes of the Oval, much larger than the others. By digging there I found the Leaves of the Doors which led into the Area, and I have ſeen the great and large Flagſtones of the Pavement, marked on the outſide here and there, and furrow'd, probably by Iron-Grates, which may have opened and ſhut. I likewiſe found, that the two lateral Doors to both thoſe inner Gates, led alſo into the Area, ſince inſtead of ſmall Steps, or Marks of them, and of the Pavement before, they all have a ſuſpended Laſtra, which continues the Length of the Wall, and from which, with a Deſcent no more than the Depth of one Step, they came down on the Floor of the Area.

The

The exterior Arches, and the firſt correſpondent, in a ſtreight Line with thoſe two Gates, and marked with the Numbers I. and XXXVII. were wider than any of the others; the two Paſſages in which we came thorough them are likewiſe more ſpacious; and what is remarkable, they don't turn narrow like the others, which proceed to a Point, but always keep up to the ſame Breadth, even to their Entry or firſt Opening. After paſſing by the Arches of the covered Way, in the middle, it would appear as if in the Walls there were the Marks of a Wicket or Door, by which every body elſe but the Actors ſeem to have been hindered from coming forward, and which was opened afterwards when the Shews began. Above the Arch of the exterior Entrance, which at preſent ſubſiſts and makes one of the Gates, a Wall riſes, in which there was a large Window, altered at preſent by thoſe who repaired the Fabric.

The Ceiling above, for the length of 15 Feet, is plain; then it continues throughout at its full Height in the manner of a hanging Vault, having nothing in the upper part but the Steps, and has projected much more than it does at preſent ſince the latter Reparations which have been made, that, and the out-jetting Window added above the Entries, hinder from ſeeing how it exactly was at firſt. The four iſolated Pilaſters, which

are ſeen on each ſide in theſe Streets, are arched above; but we muſt conſider, that the Walls which at preſent encloſe theſe Pilaſters are modern, and made for the uſe of the Rooms which are ſeparately rented out in thoſe parts: however, if they were thrown down, and ſhut up by Grates, thoſe places would ſerve equally well for the laying up Wood in them, and thereby the Nobleneſs of the ancient Entry appear.

In returning outwards through the four lateral Arches, two on each ſide of the great one, we enter into an equal number of open Paſſages, which have a Communication with that in the middle, having, one with another, four Pilaſters iſolated alſo: Theſe Paſſages ended in the ſecond Portico, their Roofs are in the form of a Semi-circle, and much lower than that in the middle, and proceed horizontally. The preciſe Breadth of all theſe Paſſages will be underſtood when we ſhall ſpeak of their Arches of Entrance: But above all 'tis remarkable, that their oval Figure tending to render them defective, by contracting or making them narrower as they go along, to avoid this, the ſagacious Architect has contrived the moſt conſpicuous one to be always of the ſame Breadth, making all the Imperfection fall in the two neareſt lateral Arches, the two laſt Pilaſters of which are ſeen very near to one another; but the Defect even in them ſeems almoſt quite

hid,

hid, becauſe they do not terminate in the enlightned part of a Void, but in a Wall where there is but very little Light.

Certain ſtreight Paſſages, as we perceive, correſpond with the exterior Arches, which continue very near to one another on both ſides: Theſe Paſſages going by the Portico's and all the Rounds, between Wall and Wall, lead into the Area, and give an Entrance into it, by the open Doors we have ſome time ago mentioned; inſomuch, that the exterior Arches at the two Ends of the Oval, were in number ſeven on each hand, by which thoſe who were to perform in the Field paſſed; nor had they therein any other Entrance, but by the three on each ſide hinted at. All this is indubitable, and may be made evident to every one that looks on it.

We may very well perceive, by what is already ſaid, what an imperfect Idea People have till now had of Amphitheatres; for the interior Circuit of that of *Rome* is repreſented by *Fontana* only as a thin Wall, notwithſtanding, in a certain manner, it ſerved as a Foundation to all the upper Steps. This ſame *Fontana*, *Lipſius*, *Deſgodetz*, *Perault* and others, have believed that the Doors below, all around the Amphitheatre, ſerved as Inlets to the Area or open Space in the middle; which, if ſo, would in a very improper manner have been to aſſign the ſame Paſſages to the Spectators in general,

and the Actors too, and a ſhutting up of every kind of Acceſs to the moſt noble Place of any, namely, the *Podium*, which had no other Entries.

The two Arches at the Ends of the Oval, are repreſented by the foreſaid Authors to be almoſt of the ſame Breadth with the others, when in fact, there is almoſt one third part of difference; and it has not been remarked, that thoſe two alone do not proceed to a Point.

They have likewiſe erroneouſly ſhewn, that the two diametrical Paſſages croſs-ways, were greater than the others, and that they terminated in the Field; tho', by digging, 'tis found, that the interior Circuit has not, on either ſide, had any Aperture at all. For 'tis evident, that the middle Paſſage, broad-ways, was fit for accommodating the Emperor and the other People of Rank, as being that which was the neareſt to the beſt Situation of any for ſeeing; but not for the Entry of thoſe, with whoſe Appearance in the extreme parts of the Theatre, they ſought to heighten the Entertainment.

In fine, 'tis believ'd, that there was but one only Entry at the end of the Oval, and that it was not broader than the diametrical one croſs-ways; and that there was not the Adjacency of two Entries on each ſide, which render'd it ſo magnificent: when, beſides other Reaſons, ſuch a Wideneſs was neceſſary,

and

and even double Entries too, because of the Pomp and Appearance with which sometimes Gladiators came into the Area, and made a fine Shew before they fought.

But that it was so in fact, we may first of all learn from [7] *Pliny*, where he says, that on a certain occasion *Cæsar* caused all his Equipage for the Arena to be made of Silver, and which was carried before him there in a pompous manner. *Pliny* in this place says also, that then for the first time might the Wild-Beasts be seen pushed on to fight with Implements of that Metal. But I cannot help lamenting that last miserable Period, where, if I may be permitted to say, in the late pompous Edition, the true Text has, without any reason at all, been not a little changed. I may say the same of another Passage there, for where the word *Vasis* is put into the Text, the true Reading should perhaps be *Armis*; because the same *Pliny* in another place [8] says, that in one of *Nero*'s Games, the *Arms* and Equipage were of Amber. When *Fabius Valens* celebrated a gladiatory Game in *Bologna*, he caused the whole Equipage to be brought from *Rome*, as we learn from [9] *Tacitus*. But in the Amphitheatres, nay, perhaps in the Beginning, some kind of Pomp may have been introduced in imitation of the *Circensian* Games,

[7] *L.* 33. *c.* 3. [8] *L.* 37. *c.* 3.
[9] *Hist. l.* 2. *advecto ex urbe cultu.*

and

and ſuch as might now be called a Proceſſion. What ground I have to imagine this, is from a hint given by *Prudentius*, where he mentions the *Amphitheatrical Pomp.* We learn alſo from [10] *Iſidorus*, that there was a kind of Gladiators who fought on horſe-back, and who entring one at one Gate, another at another, mounted upon white Courſers, with gilded Helmets, and great and ſmall Arms, *the military Enſigns preceding:* Which Appearance and Figure required, methinks, very ſpacious Entries; ſo that it was very requiſite to have two ſmall Gates near the great one. The Claſs of thoſe Combatants was the firſt in their kind, and the moſt noble, as *Iſidorus* and *Artemidorus* hint, where the latter ſays, that to dream of them, ought to be interpreted as denoting a rich and noble Woman. Methinks by their manner of fighting I can perceive, as it were, the firſt Idea People had of Tournaments and Tiltings. In *Cicero*'s time they were called by the *Greek* Name *Andabates*, becauſe their Helmet, in a great meaſure, obſtructed their ſeeing, as it ſtill happens by the Armour People put on at tilting with Lances; for which reaſon that word was applied proverbially to thoſe who did any thing in a blindfolded manner. *Lipſius*, in his [11] *Saturnalia*, treats on this

[10] *L.* 18. *c.* 53. *Genera Gladiatorum plura, quorum primus ludus Equeſtrium, &c.*
[11] *L.* 2. *c.* 12.

head

ead with extreme Erudition, and ſhews, iat Tournaments had their Origin from gla-iatory Combats, and not from the Uſage of ie northerly People, as is commonly believed. think I can perceive them hinted at like-iſe in the Acts of St. *Demetrius*, quoted ready in the firſt Book; becauſe in them e have mention made, that while the Em-eror was ſtanding within the Paliſade, at *heſſalonica*, beholding thoſe *noted Games*, certain famous Dueller, who commonly orſted every body, being then introduced efore that Prince, call'd aloud, and chal-nged the Perſon who durſt fight him, to o ſtreight into the Field of Battle, for which reat Rewards were offer'd. On this, ſome iere preſent were ſtruck with a kind of annic, till a certain Youth coming down om the Steps, frankly offered to engage im. But to return to the foreſaid Paſſage f *Iſidorus*, we likewiſe learn by it, that iere were two great Gates in the Amphi-heatre, and not four, and that the one faced owards the Eaſt, the other the Weſt; which Deſcription exactly agrees with that of *Rome*, ut not with ours, becauſe beſides out of *Rome* vhen they treated of an Amphitheatre, they neant only that of *Titus*. But I ſhall here hew a place in *Herodian*, which confirms xceedingly well, that the Entry by which he Emperor went into the Amphitheatre, n order to ſee the Games, was one of thoſe

on

on the ſide of the Building, in the middle, and exactly like that we ſee in ours of *Verona*, and not by any of the Entries at the two Extremities of the Oval length-ways. This Hiſtorian relates, [12] that the young Man ſent to kill *Commodus*, choſe for that end to poſt himſelf at the Entry of the Amphitheatre, hoping *to ſtand hid there, as being a dark place.* Now, if that Entry had had at the end of it a Gate leading into the Area, it ſurely would not have been dark; on the contrary very light, as we ſee the two Gates length-ways were, the Wideneſs and other Circumſtances belonging to it contributing thereto. Neither would any other Entry have been ſo dark as is repreſented, ſince that one only, in opening to the third Portico, has a blind Wall in Front, as is ſeen in our Plan. So that we find herein an admirable Confirmation of what we read, and what is ſaid in the Hiſtory, demonſtrated with Certainty by what we ſhall ſee very ſoon.

[12] *Lib.* 1. ὑποσὰς ἐν τῇ τῶ Ἀμφιθεάτρου εἰσόδῳ, ζοφώδης διαὐτη, καὶ λήσεσθαι ἤλπισε, &c.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Area, or Field of the Amphitheatre: How the Wild-Beasts were brought into it; of the Wall by which it was surrounded.

THE Area of the Amphitheatre was entirely open and free. *Lipsius* [1] has reated about the Gods, to whom he thought he Amphitheatre was sacred, and says, that n Altar to *Jupiter* stood in the Field; accordingly in his Draught he has placed one in he middle. But the Amphitheatre was not consecrated to any God at all, being no Temple; tho' I own the Games they perform'd were consecrated. This, *Sisinnius Capito* elates in his Books, where he treats of the Games cited be [2] *Lactantius*. So that *Tertullian* spake very properly when he said, *Mars* and *Diana* presided at those Games; and figuratively, when he affirmed, that the Amphitheatre was consecrated to [3] harsh or cruel Deities. I do not doubt but there may have been an Altar in the Amphitheatre, tho' not in the middle of its Area, or where it might have been a hinderance to the Performance; nor do I think it was fixed, but moveable,

[1] *Cap.* 4. [2] *L.* 6. *c.* 20. [3] *Cap.* 12.

as

as occaſion required. The Floor of this Area, which is now made on a Level with the loweſt of the Steps that lies hid under ground, was originally almoſt three Feet and a half lower than what it is at preſent. I learnt to know exactly where the Level of the ancient Floor had been, by the Height of the Conduits, ſtill preſerved under ground, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its due place; and it was 1 Foot 4 Inches lower than the inner Portico, from which they aſcended to the *Podium:* the Height of the thick Wall which ſurrounded the Field, was exactly even with the laſt Step but one, ſeen at preſent; inſomuch that the Ground, or Level of the Area, was lower than the Pavement of the *Podium*, four Feet and a half.

There is one Curioſity, about which every body who looks on the Amphitheatre is anxious to be inform'd, *viz.* in what manner the Beaſts were brought into the Field. *Lipſius*'s Opinion about this is generally received; namely, that the Animals being kept in Caves under ground, contiguous to, and around the Field, were brought out to the View of the People through Doors, which are believed to have been in the Wall that ſupported the Podium: For this Reaſon that Author being followed by all the others, in his Drawing has accordingly placed ten or twelve of thoſe Doors on each ſide, under the Podium. The only reaſon he had

for

for placing them there was, he ſays, his ſeeing the like kind of Doors in the Amphitheatre of *Verona*; tho' it unluckily happens, that that Amphitheatre is the only one, where in digging, we certainly perceive, there were no ſuch Doors at all, nor was it fit to make them under ground, and in a Wall 15 Feet thick. Beſides, there was no room in the Amphitheatres to make ſubterraneous Caves ſo large, as were fit for containing the great number of Wild-Beaſts made uſe of at thoſe Shews. *Lipſius* imagin'd, that they were kept below the inner Portico, but it required another kind of a place than that narrow Space; beſides, under the Portico's Conduits were hollowed all around, as ſhall be ſhewn. I had, myſelf, ſome difficulty in the matter, on reading in *Herodian*, [4] that the Lions killed in the Amphitheatre by *Commodus*, came out *from ſubterraneous places*. But, as in the Field ſometimes they erected pieces of Machinery which repreſented Mountains, and ſometimes planted real Trees on them which appear'd like Woods; ſo likewiſe they contrived hidden Caves, from whence, all of a ſudden, Animals came out. The Poet [5] *Calphurnius* aſſerts this, ſpeaking in one of his Eclogues, that in a Hunting given by the Emperor *Carinus*, [6] the Ground

[4] *Lib.* 1. λέοντων ἐξ ὑπο γαίων ἀναῤῥιφθέντων.
[5] *V. Mart. Apul. &c.*
[6] ——*Ruptaque voragine terra*
Emerſiſſe feras.

was

was ſometimes made to gape, and Gulphs or hollow Pits to open, from whence Beaſts came forth.

Such Repreſentations may alſo have been made at the Hunting exhibited by *Commodus*; but *Herodian* hints, that this happened only but at one time. I think, that in order to feign ſuch hollow Pits, they may have made uſe of thoſe large ſubterraneous Conduits which we find go croſs the Field, as ſhall be ſhewn in its due place. The Belief that Wild-Beaſts were kept within the Amphitheatre itſelf, in Priſons and Dens, is not the laſt Miſtake committed by the Learned in their Notions about the Amphitheatres. I obſerve in one Paſſage of [7] St. *Chryſoſtome*, that ſuch Beaſts were kept in the remote and uninhabited parts of the City, and within Receptacles where they were confined; and in *Rome*, we know that the *Vivarium* was appropriated for that Uſe, which was a ſpacious and noted place; of which [8] *Procopius* makes particular mention, and concerning which I refer the Reader to that elaborate Diſſertation of Cavalier *Paulo Maffei* of *Volterra*, inſerted in the twelfth Tome of the Journal of *Venice*, treating about a curious and rare Inſcription.

Ammianus compares the Fury of the Governor *Maximinus* to that of the Wild-Beaſts

[7] *Hom.* 60. *in Mat.* ἐν ἐρήμῳ τοπῳ ἢ ἐν γαλεάγραις.
[8] *Bel. Goth. lib.* 1.

of

of the Amphitheatre when ſet at liberty by breaking down the Back-doors of their Priſons, *difractis poſticis*. * *Salmaſius* on *Vopiſcus* ſays, that by that word, thoſe Doors are to be underſtood, through which the Beaſts came from their Caves under ground into the Arena; and pretended to mend an obſcure Paſſage in his Author, rendering that word in the aforeſaid Senſe. *Valeſius* on *Ammianus* is of the ſame opinion, and ſo are others; but the Evidence of the fact taken notice of by us, ſhews, that other Doors muſt be thereby underſtood. For my part, I cannot conceive that word as relating to any other Doors than thoſe of the places wherein the Beaſts were confin'd; from which, I am perſuaded, they came into the Arena, where the moſt fierce and dangerous Animals of all were brought.

The word *Cavea*, uſed ſometimes figuratively for the Theatre and Amphitheatre, regards that part of the Building where the Spectators ſat, as *Servius* explains it; and ſignifies properly, not *a Cave under ground*, as the Vocabularies likewiſe by the Miſtake already hinted at in the Structure of the Amphitheatres, commonly explain it, but a Cave, or Place of Confinement; the word in our Language being transformed, by the uſual Changes made in Manuſcripts and ancient Monuments, between the Letters *c*, *e g*; *v*,

* *L.* 28. *c.* 1.

e b; i, and *e*. *Plautus* and *Cicero* called that wherein Chickens were penned up *Cavea*, being places of Confinement of the ſame Form with that of the Beaſts, tho' in proportion to the Size of the Animals; and in them were the Wild-Beaſts kept and brought from remote Countries, and ſo carried where occaſion required. [9] *Laertius* tells us, that *Alexander* cauſed *Caliſthenes* to be put into an Iron Cage; and we learn from *Tatianus*, that within it he was carried about, *as if he had been a Bear or a Panther*. However, * *Apuleius* made the little Fable of *Traſileontes*, who feign'd himſelf a Bear, and being clothed with the Skin of that Animal, and brought encloſed within a Cage into the Houſe of the Perſon who was to give the Shew, when admitted, open'd the Doors of the Houſe to his Aſſociates, and ſo gave them opportunity to plunder. Such was the *Cavea* in which, † *Pliny* tells us, *Auguſtus* cauſed a tame Tyger to be ſeen, ſince it would not have been convenient to ſhew ſuch an Animal in a ſubterraneous Cave.

However, [10] *Marcellinus* ſays, that *Valentinian* kept near his own Room the *Caveæ* of two exceeding fierce Bears: Nor in any other manner could ſuch Beaſts be nouriſh'd or kept alive a conſiderable time; for if they had been confined in numbers in thoſe ſub-

[9] ὥσπερ ἄρκτον ἢ πάρδαλιν περιέφερε.
* *L.* 4. † *L.* 8. *c.* 17. [10] *Lib.* 29. *c.* 3.

terraneous

terraneous places (as is believed) they would undoubtedly have killed one another. And we see in our own times, that where-ever Wild-Beasts are kept, every one of them has a separate Room appointed for holding it. We know that such places of confinement were in the manner of Cages made with Grates. [11] *Horace*, in his Treatise *de Arte Poetica*, compares the Man who could break the Bars or Palings of the *Cavea*, to a Bear. In this manner did the Learned [12] *Gotofredus*, in the Law of *Theodosius* and *Honorius*, understand the *Caveæ*, against those, who in bringing Wild-Beasts to *Rome*, encumber'd the *Caveæ* of the City. Those Cages were sometimes of Iron; hence [13] *Symmachus*, speaking of some Dogs brought from *Scotland*, says, that they were observed to be so fierce at the Games, that they might have been imagined to have been brought likewise in *Caveæ* of Iron. Sometimes also these Cages were made of Wood; so *Claudian* spoke of the Beasts prepared for the Games of *Stilico*, [14] *that they were brought shut up within Mansions of Elm, or Holme-Tree*. Hence it is, that in the Book of the Deaths of Persecutors, it is said of *Maximian*, that when he desired to see Men torn to pieces,

[11] *Caveæ valuit si frangere clathros.*
[12] *C. Th. lib. 15. t. 11. l. 2.*
[13] *L. 2. Ep. 77. Ut ferreis caveis putares advectos.*
[14] *Paneg. 3. Et clausa feruntur ligneis domibus.*

he cauſed ſome of his [15] Bears to be brought, which he kept on purpoſe.

Now I am perſuaded, that in no other manner were the Wild-Beaſts, even the moſt fierce, brought into the Amphitheatre. Hence *Claudian* ſays, that in the Preparation of amphitheatrical Shews, in the Conſulate of *Stilico*, the number of Wild-Beaſts was ſo great, [16] that they wanted Carpenters to plain the Wood. So were the *Caveæ* platted with rough Bows of Aſh and Beech-Tree, even with the Leaves upon them. In effect, no other way could 100 Lions have been let into the Arena, as Hiſtorians ſay was done by ſeveral Emperors; nor could ſuch large Animals, together with their Hutches, have been able to paſs through any narrow Door. However, thus is the word *Cavea* underſtood in many Paſſages of various Authors, who ſpeak of the Wild-Beaſts and Amphitheatres. *Bulenger* alſo, by the word *Cavea* would have the Caves and Rooms, which he [17] writes, he ſaw under the Steps of an Amphitheatre at *Poitou*, to be underſtood: But ſuch Rooms, correſponding with ours, are neither ſubterraneous, nor have they the Door towards the Arena; nor could they have ſerved for Wild-Beaſts, as we ſhall ſee

[15] *Jubebat adferri.*

[16] *Pan.* 3. *Fabri nec tigna polire ſufficiunt rudibus fagis texerunt & ornis frondentes caveæ.*

[17] *Venat. Circ. cap.* 17.

when

when we come to treat of them. He likewiſe cites a Paſſage in *Vopiſcus*, where it is ſaid, that a vaſt number of Beaſts were made to come forth *through all the Paſſages*; but here he ſpeaks of the Circus. So did they bring the Wild-Beaſts alſo into the Forum, when they exhibited the Shews there before the Amphitheatre. It appears alſo by [18] *Strabo*, where he ſpeaks of that Machine, mentioned already in another place, from which they cauſed the Criminal to fall among their Dens: But with regard to the *Poſticæ* or Back-doors, mentioned by *Marcellinus*, we cannot underſtand that word in any other Senſe, but as meaning the Doors of the Places wherein the Animals were confin'd; which being open'd, they came forth into the Arena. Perhaps they call'd them *Poſticæ*, as being uſed to make them not in the Front, but Back-parts of the Cages, or Priſons for the Beaſts. This word is found alſo in the Acts of St. *Taraco* and his Companions, where we read that a Lioneſs being provok'd, broke the Poſtica: The original *Greek* has it, that the ſaid Animal being unwilling to hurt the Martyrs, returned to the Door, and not finding it open, began to try to break the Boards with her Teeth. But from this we can draw no Conſequence at all, and the rather ſince the fact happen'd in *Cilicia*, where there were no Amphitheatres. I ſhall,

[18] *Lib.* 6. εἰς γαλεάγρας θηρίων.

however, ſhew here what is particularly mentioned in the Fragment of a Stone with an Inſcription, in the time of *Valentinian*, publiſhed by **Fabretti*, and of which I have made mention in the firſt Book of this Treatiſe. We read AMPHITHEATRUM CUM PORTIS POSTICIIS ET OMNEM FABRI..... It would ſeem as if they ſpoke of Reparation, and if the Marble has it really *Amphitheatrum*, the *Portæ Poſticæ* cannot be here underſtood thoſe of the Cages or Places of Confinement. But I ſhall here ſubjoin what I think on the matter; the word *Poſticcio*, in the Vulgar, expreſſes a thing which is not fixed and peculiar to one Place, but is put to, or taken away at pleaſure: It undoubtedly comes from *Poſticus*, which indeed has had ſuch a Signification in *Latin*. By which 'tis credible, that in the Amphitheatres the Gates were ſo called which kept the exterior Arches of the Entrance ſhut; which, as our Veſtiges ſhew, and as we have hinted at above, were not fixed, but removed on the days wherein the Shews were exhibited; for this reaſon they were called *Poſticæ*. Theſe then we may believe were done over again, by the Perſon whom the Inſcription mentions. Beſides, in this Senſe, the word *Poſticæ* agrees very well with the Doors of the Places where the Beaſts were confined, becauſe it was neceſſary that they ſhould be put on, and removed at pleaſure. I ſhall not

* *Fab. Inſ. p. 629.*

not neglect to mention here, that one Paſſage of [19] *Apuleius* gives us reaſon to believe, that it was uſual in the Games of Wild-beaſts to place Machines of Wood in the middle, in the manner of a moveable and ornamented Houſe, with a Tower upon it, which ſerved as *a Receptacle againſt the next Hunting*. Here, however, 'twas proper, the Beaſts ſhould have been placed before, and prepared, and, as it were, confin'd in ſo many Priſons with Doors to them, which very well may have been called *Poſticæ*.

What regards the Stage, upon which the Martyrs were expoſed to the Beaſts, that ſo they might be ſeen the better, muſt be underſtood of the Pulpit and the Bridge, mention'd in the Acts of *Santa Perpetua* and her Companions: in them we find, as a Confirmation of what is already ſaid, that the Wild-Beaſts were brought, together with the *Caveæ* in which they were confin'd, on the Stage; ſince we learn that *Saturus* being brought bound on the Bridge, and placed before a Bear, the [20] Animal would not come out of his *Cavea* to devour him.

That Paſſage of *Lampridius* is remarkable concerning the bad Omen which happen'd,

[19] *Lib. 4. Conſixilis Machinæ ſublicæ turris decora, futuræ venationis receptacula.*

[20] *Tum ad urſum ſubſtrictus eſſet in ponte, urſus de Cavea prodire noluit.*

becauſe the Helmet of *Commodus* was carried out of the Amphitheatre through the Gate *Libitinaria*; that is, as *Dio* ſays, through which all the dead Corps were uſually carried. This Gate could be nothing elſe, I think, but one of the four leſſer Entries through which they paſſed into the Area, and came out of it again, and muſt have been turned towards the *Spoliarium*, a place where they carried and ſtript the Bodies of the Gladiators, and which ought to have been but at a ſmall diſtance from the Amphitheatre.

Cuperus, in his Book *de Mortibus*, made a double Miſtake concerning the *Spoliarium*, tho' he had ſpoke very juſtly about the Bridge and Stage. *Dio* mentions *Portæ* in the plural Number, becauſe they were obliged to paſs through all the others which were in that Paſſage or Way. We cannot believe that the Gate thro' which the Dead were carried, was one of thoſe two which were the moſt noble of any, as [21] *Lipſius* ſeems to have believed; nor, that one of them would occaſion an ill Omen. A pleaſant Miſtake in the Acts of *Santa Perpetua*, made a new Gate in the Amphitheatre, fit for no Uſe that we know of; and this Gate was called the *Sanavinaria*, about which Father *Poſſino* treated, and was followed therein by [22] *Grævius*. Some time ago, in the Copy

[21] *Cap.* 21. [22] *Ant. Roman. t.* 10. *in Præf.*

publiſhed by me, I called it *Sandapilaria*; of which Emendation, ſince I ſaw the Canon *Mazochio*, I have now a better Opinion, he judging it to be juſt as I had conceived it. It might ſurely have been called the *Libitinenſian*, on account of the *Sandapilæ* or Biers on which the Corps of the Dead were carried through it.

The Wall of the Podium was externally well adorn'd with ſeveral kinds of the finer Marbles: I conceive it to have been ſo, from the many Pieces dug up at different times in the Arena, ſuch as *African* and *Serpentine*; and I conjecture it likewiſe from a Hint given by a [23] Poet, who calls that Wall *Marmoreous*. As Time and the Repairings have defaced moſt of the Building, ſo has it the Wall in a particular manner, which at preſent is buried in the ground, and I have only obſerv'd a wrought Baſement, which now appears to have been on a Level with the Floor. The very Flooring of the Podium itſelf, has ſurely been paved with Marble, for it was the moſt noble Place of any; and the various Fragments of *Parian* and *African* Marble, cut thin in ſmall ſquare Dyes, which are ſometimes found, confirm it. On the Border of the Wall there was a Riſing, from which that place took the Name of *Podium*, and which ſerved by way of Ornament and Fence: 'Tis not likely that

[23] *Calp. Eclog.* 7.

this

this rising Place projected from the Wall, because it would have caused so much Space in the Area to have been lost, and to those especially who beheld the Games from above; nor have we any Evidence of it, though, because *Lipsius* said it, such a signification is commonly given to the word *Podium*. Some pieces of a small Pillar of Foreign Marble have been also dug up, but not so much as might afford us to know certainly the precise Dimensions thereof, or the Form of the Balluſters which have been round it.

We must now enquire into the Manner how those, who stood in the Podium, were secure from the violence of the Beasts. *Lipsius* said, that the Ground-Plot, or lowermost Flooring, was twelve or fifteen Foot lower than it; but in this manner the Area would have been a mere Well, and a great part of it hid from those who sat at the top. We have seen already, that the Ground was no more than four Foot and a half lower than the Pavement of the Podium; there was besides, the Height of the rising Place, which may have been three Foot, or three and a half: but because a Height, between seven and eight Foot, was not sufficient to secure People from the Leap of a Tyger or a Pard, in the *Circus* in *Cæsar*'s time, it was surrounded with a Paling of Iron, then with a Ditch; and in the Amphitheatre, secured with various Fences, *viz.* Nets, Spikes, and Pali-

ſades, which turned round the Nets that defended the Podium, are mentioned by [24] *Pliny*, where he ſays, that in *Nero*'s Games, they were knotted together with Gum or Roſin. They are mentioned likewiſe by *Calphurnius*, who ſays, that in the Games he had ſeen, they were of Gold, or gilded. By thoſe Paſſages, 'tis, however, not certain, if they were Branches of Metal, or Nets of Cords; ſince ſome would not underſtand the *Auro torta* of *Calphurnius*, as wrought with Gold Wire. 'Tis credible, that they were raiſed above the ſmall Out-buttings of the Podium; but I learn from the ſame Poet, the true uſe for which they ſerved, namely, that there was a Range of very long Spikes joined to the Nets, in the form of Teeth, which ſtretched forward into the Arena, and, as I believe, bended towards it, and ſo contrived as to hinder the Beaſts from leaping forward. Beſides, there were round and moveable Staves, which prevented them from forcing their way when entangled, or from grappling and climbing. I do not, however know, whether there might not have been a Mob of *Plebeans*, who may have ſtood behind the Paliſades to ſee the Games; for it happened on a certain time, that there being no Criminals condemned to the Beaſts [25], *Caligula* cauſed ſome Fellows that were looking

[24] *L.* 37. *c.* 3.

[25] *Dio. l.* 59. εκ τȣ̃ ὄχλου τȣ̃ τοῖς ἰκρίοις προσε ςηκότος, &c.

on

on to be ſeized, and to be made uſe of inſtead of the condemned Malefactors. I give you here the obſcure Verſes of *Calphurnius*, in which we learn the Nature of thoſe Fences; nor, without a full Account of the Amphitheatre, could it be poſſible to underſtand the Verſes: I have alſo given the [26] Tranſlation with them, by which I have endeavoured to make them ſomewhat clear. The fifth Verſe, I read according to that moſt excellent Emendation of *Salmaſius* on *Vopiſcus*; and what ought to be underſtood about the Encloſure, and Portico in the firſt Verſe, ſhall be very ſoon explained. I read *Tota* in the ſeventh, and *Tortis* in the eighth, becauſe *Totis Dentibus* in this place I think ſeems to agree ſomething leſs with the general Senſe.

Balteus en gemmis, en illita porticus Auro
Certatim radiant! nec non ubi finis Arenæ
Proxima marmoreo peragit Spectacula Muro.
Sternitur adjunctis ebur admirabile truncis,
Et coit in rutulum, tereti qui lubricus axe
Impoſitos ſubita vertigine falleret Ungues;
Excuteretque feras: Auro quoque tota refulgent
Retia, quæ tortis in Arenam dentibus extant,

[26] *As this Tranſlation in Italian is a Specimen of the Author's Ability, in verſification; I here ſubjoin it, together with the original Verſes.*

Dentibus

Dentibus æquatis: & erat mihi, crede, Lycota,
Si qua fides noſtro Dens longior omnis aratro.

Splendono a gara il Portico e la cinta
Queſta di gemme e d'or quel: non Meno
Preſſo al Marmoreo, dove il Campo ha fine
Muro, avorio mirabile riſplende
A i pali intorno, e a formar vien Cancelli
Girevoli, ne quai Lubrico inganno
Trovan le Fiere, che afferrar non ponno
Deluſe l'unghie lor dal volger pronto.
D'oro ſplendono ancor le reti tutte,
Che ſi ſpingon co' denti uguali e adunchi
Verſo il Campo; e ogni dente [*abbimi fede*]
Non era Lungo men de noſtri aratri.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Steps, Vomitories, Benches, ſmall Stairs, and Wedges.

WE come now to treat of the Inner Elevation, namely, of the whole Space around the Building, where the Spectators ſat, which conſiſts in Steps that ariſe and widen all around, from the Bottom to the Top of the Fabrick. This Part of our *Arena*, if we may believe moſt Foreigners, who have wrote of Voyages or Antiquity, is wholly preſerved and entire; but the truth

truth is, that this is the only part which has altogether perished; so that at present it is quite transformed and disfigured. But not to mention the many Rocks on which those who have published Prints of Antiquities have split, their not taking notice, or distinguishing modern things, often found mixed with ancient, has above any other Particular proved fatal; by which I mean Reparations. The Steps seen at present, are for the most part modern, and all out of their true Places; because in the repairing, according to the Custom sometimes practised, not only in this Age, but at other Times too, not in our City only, but others also, never has any particular Care been taken to employ People as Overseers of the Amphitheatre, who have had skill in such Affairs. On the contrary, in the Times of our Fathers and Grand-fathers, such Persons who may have delighted in ancient Erudition, have ever been deputed for the Direction of such Matters; for the original Form and Distribution of the Parts in this Fabrick have not been observed in the Reparations, and 'tis indeed very difficult at present to trace them out. Yet for all this, a great deal may be learned, if a diligent Observation be made of the present State of the Fabrick; for in the first place, there are not a few Fragments of the ancient Steps of the Building to be seen here and there,

there, mixed among those that are modern, especially in the higher Parts of the Building; by which we may learn the ancient Measures and Form: nor could this be done by any other means, since not one of them are preserved in the Amphitheatre at *Rome*.

The Steps are for the most part of red Marble, some Pieces, according to the ancient manner, very large, even eight Feet in length, and a Foot and six Inches high, two Feet and near two Inches broad; there are other two, which have the Border laid under the upper Step: the Measures agree with what is assign'd by *Vitruvius*, and 'tis easy to distinguish them from the others that are modern, particularly by the raised Border they have on each side, which Border, in the ancient Steps, rises insensibly, and terminates in a thin Edge, that fills nothing, and was sufficient to keep off the Water from running into the Frames or Joinings. Besides, they unite very exactly one with another; and the small Openings between them, in some Places, we find defended by a very fine *Stucco* plastered over them: and 'tis credible that they have been placed so as to have a small Declivity. On the other hand, the modern Steps are of a flaky Stone, most of which are not so solid and square as to have a true and sharp Edge, but exceeding rough on the Inside, the Cavities being filled with Stones and Fragments, and now become a Re-

Receptacle for Rain-water, which ſometimes is very pernicious to the modern Roofs under it. Beſides, there are great Crevices between the one and the other; to remedy which, according to the Cuſtom of our Maſons now-a-days, the Steps are in a very clumſy or clowniſh manner dabbed over with Lime and Mortar. Our preſent way of Plaſtering ſerves for no Uſe, tho' there are ſome who have the Secret of making Cement like that of the Ancients, which petrified.

Beſides, the Stones in the modern Reparations have been ſo very ill laid, that not being fixed as they ought to have been, they are in ſeveral Places disjointed, and ſome more or leſs ſunk downward and out of place. Nay, in ſome Parts the Curvature of the Oval has not been obſerved at all. Such is the Difference betwixt the modern and ancient Maſonry. Notwithſtanding all this, it does not hinder but that we have great Obligations to thoſe who from time to time have promoted and cauſed ſuch Reparations to be made; and yet let the whole be ever ſo indifferently performed, thoſe deſerving Citizens have at any rate kept up the internal Part of a Fabrick, that even as it is at preſent, according to the Opinion of Strangers of the beſt Senſe, who ſee it, is one of the fineſt Fabricks in the World.

In order to come at a perfect Knowledge of the Manner of building Amphitheatres, we re-

receive great light therein from the Openings or Out-lets placed here and there among the Steps appointed for the Spectators, and ſtill the inner Doors of almoſt all of them are preſerved. In the time of [1] *Macrobius*; theſe Out-lets were called *Vomitorii*. *Philander* and *Lipſius* are of opinion that *Vitruvius* named them by the word *Aditus*, when he ſpeaks of the Theatres; but in that Paſſage he ſays they were neceſſary to be made ſpacious, and with a ſtreight Direction, and not vaulted. Now, 'tis plain, that he thereby underſtands the Porches, Entries, or Paſſages which lead to the Doors. Theſe *Vomitories*, in the Drawing of the Arena given by *Lipſius*, and in that of the Coliſeum by *Fontana*, were figured out at random. *Deſgodetz* placed them very exactly in our Arena, and only committed an Error, in believing, that thoſe below terminated in the Area, and were leſs than the others, tho' the internal Doors of them all are abſolutely alike, and the injudicious manner of hampering ſometimes the Steps before the Apertures, comes from the Repairing. They are diſtinct in four Rows, or we may ſay, Lines: and diſpoſed ſomething in the manner of a Cheſs-board, and at equal diſtances in proportion as the Rounds widen;

[1] *Sat. l. 6. cap. 4. Unde & nunc Vomitoria in Spectaculis dicimus, ubi homines glomeratim ingredientes, in ſedilia ſe fundunt. L. 5. c. 3. perpetuos & directos ſine inverſuris.*

every Line has ſixteen of them, ſo that in all, they are ſixty-four. In the Second, beginning from the Ground, the two are wanting, which ought to have fallen on the Point of the Oval, becauſe the Space is taken up by the ſtraightning of the Roof, in order to give place to the great Gate of the Field, but are replaced in the Middle, in the Breadth where two are ſeen very near one another inſtead of the one, which muſt have fallen in the Diameter. *Deſgodetz* came near the truth, even in the Situation of thoſe of *Rome*, and would have ſucceeded marvellouſly in the whole, if in ours he had made the number of the Vomitories in the Middle full in the ſecond Line, and alſo placed the ſixteen of the lower Order; it being certain, that that Amphitheatre, by the Diſtribution of its Parts, could not be otherwiſe. There were but four of thoſe Apertures which gave admittance into the Area, as we have already ſeen, and ſixty remained for the Spectators, who, though in vaſt Numbers, could have ſpeedy Egreſs and Entrance by thoſe ſixty Doors.

The Steps, as may be ſeen by their Profile, in *Plate* X. are at preſent forty-five in Number, diſtributed in the following manner; one of them is hid under ground, and five fill up the loweſt Vomitory. You arrive at the Mouth of the ſecond by other ſix, which has three, then twelve are numbered, even

to

to the Foot of the third Vomitory, which comprehends four within it; there are ſeven, even to the fourth, which two only fill up, and five are above it. It cannot be well aſcertained, how many of the ancient Steps there may have been, becauſe of the Alteration of the Meaſures and other Circumſtances, which we ſhall treat of in the Sequel: there are two more at preſent at the Foot, at the Top one or two leſs; thoſe repaired, being kept more low, as is diſcerned by the Remains in ſeveral Places. However, the Diverſity which we have ſhewn already in the Height of the Aperture, is not believed to have proceeded from the firſt Architect; ſince one cuts five Steps, another four, and another two. On the inner Side of the Gates, which are ſeen in every one of the four Orders, their Stairs are all equal to one another, and the Openings of them, without doubt, have been equal alſo; and every one in the four Steps correſponding with the Height of the Gates themſelves: but by the Reparations, they have been changed in ſuch a manner, that they croſs more Steps than they ought, and ſometimes fewer. The Height of the Space which runs from one Order to the other, was indeed different; the Interval, between the ſecond and the third, encreaſing ten Foot above that which went from the *Podium* to the ſecond, and from the third to the laſt.

We must not believe that the Steps continued from below upward always equal, as are seen at present, being interrupted by some Divisions like Steps, which were wider and higher than the others: *Vitruvius* call'd them *Præcinctiones*. *Honorio Belli*, quoted by me in the first Book, saw one in a Theatre at *Gortina*, which divided the Steps in two equal parts; in another Theatre in the City of *Litto*, he perceived three: but in Theatres, those served chiefly for holding within them Vases of Metal, in which *Belli* saw the Cells or Niches, in which they were placed.

Leon Alberti wrote very judiciously when he said, that the Ancients divided the Steps for sitting, into three parts, and that round about every one of those Divisions they had made one Step wider than the others, and that upon those Flats of the Frame, the Stairs joined; of which we shall speak afterwards. The Height of these *Præcinctiones* or Benches ought not to have been greater than their Breadth, namely, that the perpendicular Height should be equal with the horizontal Breadth; as [a] *Vitruvius* taught, whose Text in that place was not, I believe, corrupted, as *Perault* asserts, who has translated it differently, being of opinion, that the Height of these Benches ought to have been one half less than the Breadth, tho'

[a] *L. 5. c. 3. Neque altiores quam quanta præcinctionis itineris sit latitudo.*

many

many Particulars contradict this. However, what number of Benches there really were in Amphitheatres, and what their Situations were, is ſtill to be enquired into. It ſeems as if they ought to have been at the Mouth of all the Vomitories, in order to give more room to the Entries; tho' our Amphitheatre preſerves not the leaſt Mark thereof, except at the Floor of the third Line, where the whole Round is deformed by a Step which is half as narrow as the others, and which ſerves for no purpoſe at all. I am of opinion that this was occaſion'd by thoſe who repaired the Building, who finding a Space here, which by one Step appeared to them too much, and by two too little, they choſe an ingenious Medium, to make it one and a half. The Faſciæ of the Benches in the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, were made with *Moſaic* Work, or inlaid with ſhining precious Stones; this I learn by the Paſſage of *Calphurnius*, already mentioned, where he names the Balteo or Belt incruſted with Gems; which could be nothing elſe but the Benches. Here, however, it ſeems, that ſuch kind of Work was made on purpoſe, in order to add to the Magnificence of ſome Shew or another; or, that ſuch uncommon Ornaments were the Reaſon why the Benches were called Belts. There were once Pieces of gilded Glaſs dug up here, which perhaps may have been made uſe of in the *Moſaic* Work of theſe Benches,

and ſuch may have been called Gemms. The Round or Encloſure of the Podium, was after the manner of the Benches, which in Subſtance correſponded with one of the Steps, that was more ample and noble than any of the others: that it was not reckoned among the number of them, I learn from [3] *Vitruvius*, where he calls that the firſt of the *Præcinctiones*, to which they went by the Steps of the firſt Stairs. So that, that which was at the mouth of the ſecond Vomitories, was called the firſt, as we may learn by the Form of the Stairs themſelves: but of this preſently.

The Steps ſerved for Seats, and never for People to go up them; however, in order that the Spectators might go upwards, ſeveral ſmall Stairs were cut in the Steps, which Particular has been imitated in our Reparations; and likewiſe of theſe we may learn here the Meaſure and Form, for we have ſeveral ancient Pieces of them remaining juſt as they had been in the old Stairs. It is eaſy to know every Piece by their Hollows at right Angles, as likewiſe in being perfectly ſquare, with a mighty fine Poliſh; whereas in the modern they are made very clumſily. Theſe Stairs then were in breadth two Feet and a half, and required the half of the Step for the Height, and the half for the Depth; proceeding from below upwards, and from one

[3] *L. 5. c. 3.*

Bench

Bench to another, by which they were ſeparated among themſelves, and the Spectators, as it were, diſtinguiſhed in Troops or Companies.

From what has been ſaid, I don't think it will now be difficult to underſtand that place of [4] *Tertullian*, which has been attempted to be explain'd by many with very little Succeſs. His Words are, *Nam apud ſpectacula & in via ſtatur; vias enim vocant cardines baletorum per ambitum, & diſcrimina popularium per proclivum: cathedra quoque nominatur ipſe in anfractu ad conſeſſum ſitus.* But firſt, you muſt obſerve the Context: *Tertullian* ſhewing, that it was not lawful for Chriſtians to be preſent at the Shews of the *Pagans*; and anſwers thoſe who defended it, by ſaying, they did not ſee that Shews were forbid by Scripture; and inſinuates, that in a certain manner ſuch a Prohibition is found in theſe Words of the [5] *Pſalms*, where that Man is called bleſſed, *who ſtands not in the ways of the ungodly, or ſitteth in the chair of peſtilence*; and from this he takes occaſion to call ſome places of the Theatre and Amphitheatre, *Via & Cathedra.* [6] *Clemens Alexandrinus* made uſe of the ſame Verſe as an Authority againſt

[4] *Spect. cap.* 20.

[5] *Pſ.* 1. 1. *In via peccatorum non ſtetit, & in cathedra peſtilentiæ non ſedit.*

[6] *Ped. l.* 3. *Hom.* 6. *de Pœnit.*

Shews, and ſo did *Chryſoſtome*, but not in the ſame manner. We then ſee in *Tertullian*, that the Floors of the *Præcinctiones* or Benches, were called *Viæ*, and both in effect ſerved for places of Paſſage or Thorowfares; and we alſo ſee, that in thoſe Paſſages the People who came late ſtood on foot, their Seats having been fill'd by others. Of the two parts of the *Præcinctiones* he calls the Wall *Balteo*, Belt, or *Faſcia*; it is ſo called likewiſe by *Calphurnius*, the Denomination ariſing from the Partition-Wall which appeared to ſurround the *Cavea*. The Floor he calls *Cardo*, as being that on which the Spectators turned round. Hence [7] *Apuleius* called the Earth itſelf *Cardo*. *Vitruvius*, in the place cited a little before, called the Floor the Street, tho' by another Vocable, and the Partition-Wall *Præcinctio*. [8] *Bullinger* committed a double Error in placing the *Baltei* and *Cardines* in the Orcheſtra. [9] *Salmaſius* on *Salinus* ſpoke much better; but we learn from *Tertullian*, that the Stairs were likewiſe called *Viæ*, and ſaid by him to be Separations of the Men, or *popular Seats below and above*: So that one might ſuſpect the under part of the Steps allotted for People of the firſt Rank, may not have had Stairs: but as that is not poſſible, and as we find it confirmed not to be ſo, particularly by a Paſſage of [10] *Sue-*

[7] *Apul. de Mundo.* [8] *De Cir. cap.* 34. [9] *P.* 919.
[10] *In Dom. cap.* 4.

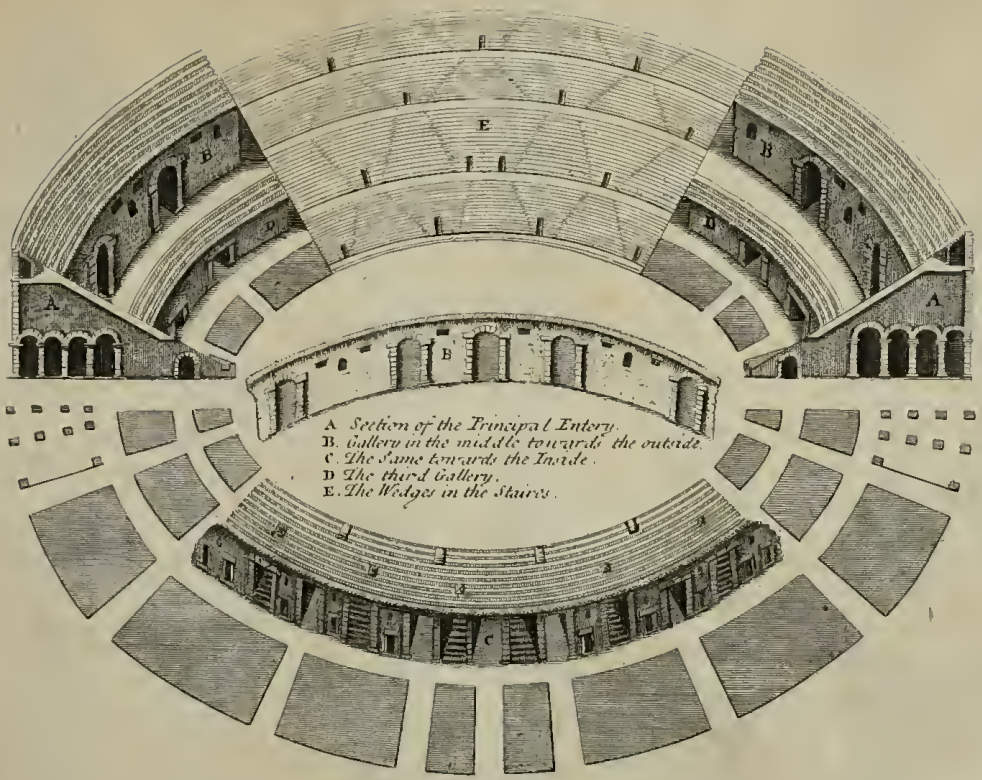
tonius, which we ſhall produce in another place, we may conclude, that *Tertullian* by the word *Populares*, underſtood all the People placed on the Steps. Nor any where elſe, but by this Paſſage, do we learn that that Situation was called *Cathedra*, which was *in Anfractu*. *Varro* ſhews, that it was as much *in Anfractu* as *in Flexu*; but as the continued and circular Paſſage of the *Præcinctiones* had no other Turning, than where it was croſs'd by the Paſſages of the Out-lets; ſo I am certain, that thoſe were the Situations, ſo called, as having Seats ſomething more convenient, which, in order not to leave thoſe Spaces void, was uſual here to be placed.

From theſe two kinds of Paſſages, namely, from the Floorings of the Benches, and of the little Stairs, the *Cunei* or Wedges were formed. There are many places in Writers, by which it appears, that the Spectators, both in the Theatre and Amphitheatre, were placed in Diviſions in the form of Wedges: But of the manner how they were diſpoſed, or the Stairs either, very few People have before now taken pains to illuſtrate thoſe Particulars, nor does our Arena or Reparations afford us any help therein, in the laſt of which they were made at random. Yet notwithſtanding this, two things ſeem to have pointed out to me the manner how the Wedges were placed, and the Poſition of the Stairs; one from *Vitruvius*,

truvius, the other from Medals. For in this Author I read, that the [11] *Cunei* or Wedges of Theatres, ought to be made in such a manner, as that *the Angles of Triangles, which fall in the Curvatures of the Round, should direct their Projection and their Stairs between the one Wedge and the other to the first Bench: And above these the Passages alternatively, and the Wedges in the middle likewise, have the same Direction.* He says also in another place, *that the Gradations of the Stairs should be directed to the first Bench, between the Wedges and the Seats of the Spectators, and that from that Bench again, among the same, the second Gradation should be directed.* Then I see on Medals, how two of the upper Stairs, which spring off from the top of the Steps, have a Vomitory in the middle, and come below, as if joining to one another, the Space between the one and the other appearing like a Wedge; but in these they know how the other Branch must have descended, widening itself in the same manner that the first grew narrow. The same is to be said of the other two that are lower; and tho' it be not my Custom to delineate any thing that I do not see my self, yet the Certainty of the Marks, compared with the Remains; these, with a little

[11] *L. 5. c. 6. Cunei ita dirigantur ut anguli trigonorum, &c.*

Allowance,



A Section of the Principal Entery.
B. Gallery in the middle towards the outside.
C. The Same towards the Inside.
D The third Gallery.
E. The Wedges in the Staires.

S. A. D.

Allowance, prove, in my opinion, that I have certainly found the manner how thoſe things have been diſpoſed. The reaſon why I ſhew the Wedges or *Cunei* in the ninth Plate, formed by the Stairs and Benches, is, becauſe the genteel manner by which the Steps were diſpoſed, from top to bottom, appears till this day: What regards the civil Uſe of theſe Diſtinctions, ſhall be treated of in another place. 'Tis certain, that the whole Space could not otherwiſe have been divided into Triangles; however, in that manner of diſpoſing them, the Benches had ſome of their Baſes below, others above. That the Space was divided or laid out in the form of Wedges, appears plain, for [12] *Apuleius* ſays, thoſe who could not get a place on the Marble Steps, but ſtood in the Paſſages, were *unwedged*. And when *Nero* placed Soldiers in the Amphitheatre, on purpoſe that every part of it ſhould ring with Applauſe, *Tacitus* ſays, they were diſtributed through all the *Cunei* or Wedges. In this Plate, beſides the Stairs and *Cunei* in the middle, the inner covered Ways are alſo repreſented, which we ſhall mention in their due place.

[12] *Florid. cap.* 16. *Excuneati queruntur.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

An Explanation of the firſt Circuit on the Ground-Plot.

MY Endeavour to follow Order and Method, is what I propoſe will give me the greateſt Aſſiſtance in my preſent Eſſay, which [as it is to explain the Nature of the inner part of ſuch a magnificent Structure as an Amphitheatre, without the help of a Model] is, I think, no ſmall Undertaking. I have therefore begun with that which firſt offers itſelf to view, and to treat of it part by part. Where, after exhibiting a general View of the Plan, I have led the Reader to the Area, and enumerated all the Paſſages and Gates which lead within it, then examined all that is ſeen from the Area: And being diſengaged from ſpeaking of the exterior and interior Uprights, what now remains is, to treat of that contain'd between the one and the other, and to deſcribe the parts which are covered. This Particular has indeed not been hitherto ſufficiently explained, for which reaſon the moſt wonderful part of the elegant Fabric ſtill remains hid and unknown.

After we paſs by the Arches of the firſt Encloſure, deſcribed in the Beginning, we enter

enter into the first and exterior Portico: of this, 'tis proper we should treat, before we come within. The Breadth of it, is thirteen Feet; the upper one has fourteen, gaining one by the internal Degradation of the Wall. The first Floor [as may be seen in that part which has been uncovered] was paved with very large Flags of the same Stone with the rest; the Height from it, to the Middle of the Roof, is twenty-seven Feet four Inches, and the Ceiling is wrought in the following manner: From the first Pilasters, in the Situation, above the Middle, the like Number of Arches are thrown into the Interior, (as appears in the Cut of the fifth and tenth Plates) consisting of large Stones, four Foot broad each, which is exactly the Breadth of the second Pilasters. Between the one and the other of these arched Lines, the Roof is enchested and waved, the Wall remaining somewhat higher, and the Arcade of Marble prominent downwards in a genteel manner. The Roofs do impost, or draw in above the thickness of the Arches; the Wall of these Roofs has not any kind of Bricks in it, but is all of Stone, with such caution, that a whole one cannot be observed. Since the round and smooth Stones cannot bind with the Mortar, (for this reason, we find they drop off so very easily from our modern Walls) therefore they are broken in Splinters, so that the rough part of them fastens very well

well with Mortar. The Roofs of the Coliſeum are likewiſe of Stone, and even theſe immured with Arches; yet not of Marble like ours, but of hard Plaiſter, and riveted from one Pilaſter to another.

In the ſecond Encloſure, the Arena has two Stories, that is, two Orders of Arches one above the other, preſerved all round, as may be ſeen in Plate the third. The Pilaſters, with their Arches, and ſomething more, are of the uſual Marble. There are only three of the upper Arches that are not antique, but added, and made up about fifty Years ago; the whole Encloſure is likewiſe preſerved. As to the Walls and Roofs, tho' they have loſt the Stairs; one of them, however, [which is of the Double] has ſome ſmall Steps in it preſerved, and ſome flag Stones of the repaired Floor, and of the lateral Conduit; and is by ſuch a Direction and ſure Veſtiges ſupplied and perfected. The Front of the Pilaſters in both Stories, meaſures four Feet, taken at the Bottom of the Impoſt, and two Inches more taken at the Riſe of the Arch; the Side is four Feet ſix. In the Ground-Plot, the Height of the Arch is eighteen Feet ſix, in the higher, ſixteen Feet. The Impoſt of the Arches proceed by the ſame Order, with that of the firſt Encloſure. In it, I ſpoke not of the Breadth of the Gates, or, if we may ſay it, the arched empty Spaces; but at preſent we may conclude

conclude about them, from thoſe of the ſecond, which we ſhall conſider.

In ſpeaking about theſe ſecond Doors, I enter now on the Deſcription of thoſe internal Paſſages which could not be underſtood, if I had firſt begun to have ſhewn the Number and Situation of the Vomitories, being the Boundaries to which they are directed. The two Arches then at the end of the Oval, which correſponded with the Number I, and XXXVI, marked on the outſide, are both twelve Feet ten Inches wide, and at the Foot of the Capital, thirteen Feet one Inch, and larger than any of the others. The two in the Middle broad-ways, which correſponded with the Numbers XIX and LV, are wide twelve Feet two, and narrower than theſe contiguous to them on either ſide, the latter being larger five Inches than they; and even by that it appears how ridiculouſly People have imagin'd till now, that both were of the ſame Dimenſions with the two firſt, and larger and more magnificent than the others. The four lateral Arches at the two greateſt Gates, are leſs than any of the others; that which is added to the Gates, being taken from the Arches. Their Meaſure is between ten Feet and a half and eleven, the ſixteen Entries on both hands, eight on each ſide of the two in the Middle, croſsways, are in breadth between twelve Feet three Inches, to twelve Feet ſix; the like

like Number following on all the four Parts, are between eleven Feet four Inches, to eleven Feet nine; which Narrowing comes from the Elliptick Line, where it is inflected, and the Curve becomes greater. These are exactly the Measures of all the Arches, it being useless to mark the very precise Dimensions of them one by one; since we find each of them vary, and irregular by two or four Inches in their different Situations, which, however, ought to correspond exactly, and where we are sure that the error is Casual, and proceeds not from a want of Art, so that the Consumption of the Materials in the rustick Work having mouldered away with Time, hinders us from coming to a minuteness in these particulars, and even in the Coliseum, which is executed more politely; the Measures, both with regard to the Breadth and Height, vary not a little: so that *Desgodetz* asserted, that even that Amphitheatre was executed with very little exactness; but the like Incidents must necessarily often happen in such vast Edifices of Stone, wherein very many hands were employed. No Person has hitherto taken the pains to measure the Breadth of the Entries of the Coliseum, which still remain, or the others, which are now wanting; having been prepossessed in the Opinion, that they were all equal; though it is very credible, that in the greatest Inflexion of any, they don't come up

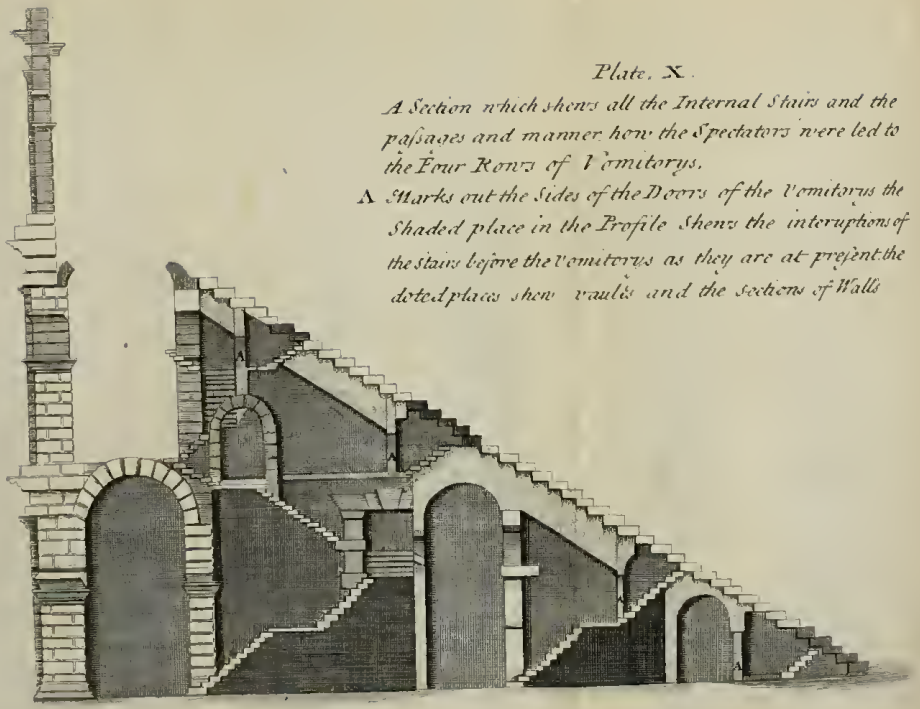


Plate. X.

A Section which shews all the Internal Stairs and the passages and manner how the Spectators were led to the Four Rows of Vomitorys.

A *Marks out the Sides of the Doors of the Vomitorys the Shaded place in the Profile Shews the interuptions of the stairs before the Vomitorys as they are at preſent the doted places shew vaults and the Sections of Walls*

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up to the original Meaſure, and that which is of the greateſt Conſequence of all; *Fontana,* by the Prepoſſeſſion he had, that the four diametrical Gates ſerved for the ſame Uſe, and that Streets of the like Breadth correſponded with them; affirmed that they all meaſured twenty Palms; the other ſeventy-ſix, nineteen Palms and a third, which would not be a computable Difference for the reaſon we have already mentioned.

But the Matter of Fact is, that by ſearching with exactneſs the two Gates in the Front, length-ways, will undoubtedly be found wider than any of the others, perhaps two or three Feet, and even more. But it will not be difficult to be ſure of this by the Arches, which, according to the Drawing, ſeem to be remaining in the third Encloſure, which correſponds with our ſecond.

We ſhall now mention where every one of thoſe Entries, and the different Stairs of the firſt Encloſure lead, by conſidering one fourth part of the Building, ſince the other three fourths are exactly alike. The courteous Reader may caſt his Eye on the Plan, and tenth Plate, which ſhew a Section with the inner Stairs that ne'er have been known before, nor underſtood by any who have treated on the Subject of Amphitheatres. Beginning from the Middle length-ways, at Number I. of it, and the other three which follow one another, we have ſpoke of al-

ready. At Number VI. we have a Stair of 20 Steps, interrupted by a Flat; at the end of which Stair there is a great Window in Front, which pierces through the third Encloſure, and ſends Light forward. The Vault of this Space aſcends even to the middle of it, then deſcends: the reaſon is, becauſe firſt, there is a Stair upon it, which goes to a Vomitory of the fourth Line, then the remainder has part of the Steps upon it. Eight of the Vaults are, for the ſame reaſon, of the ſame figure.

The forementioned Stair proceeds doubling with two Branches of fourteen Steps on each ſide, then returns, and leads up to the Ambulatory. By thoſe two Branches they paſs on each hand by Doors with Architraves over them, 9 Feet 5 Inches high, wide 7 Feet 2; one Pier thereof, namely, that which would remain, joined to the inner Wall, diminiſhes, and ſeems to loſe itſelf in the Wall, in order to leave the Door the more ſpacious; and, if I am not deceived, the whole is repreſented diſtinctly in the Plate. There are alſo four Steps which fill up the Thickneſs of the other Pier, expreſſed likewiſe in the Plan, which come upon the Flat of the other Branch, as we have ſaid already.

In the fifth and ſeventh Spaces, there are two Under-ſtairs, which form Rooms; certain Conduits of Marble, which lay hid, go along

along with the Stairs near the Wall. These Troughs or Conduits served for the Urine in the higher parts of the Building: of these, several Pieces are preserved, the Breadth of which is one Foot, having discharged themselves into other Conduits under ground; of which in its due place.

There is a Passage which corresponds with the eighth Space, and goes streight, even to the inner Enclosure. The ninth and tenth have two oblong Rooms, without any other Outlet. The eleventh had a Stair with an arched Window in Front, which strikes the Light in another of the second Enclosure. This Stair turned streight with a square Door, like those describ'd in the double Stair, and went to the Flat by four Steps, and to the second Branch of Number XII. having a Room under it. Another Passage follows, leading to the *Podium*, like that at Number VIII. next an oblong large Room, then a Stair with two Branches, like that we have spoke of already. The seventeenth has a Way to the *Podium*, as the two aforesaid; and the 18th a large Room, with which the fourth of the Building ends in the Ground-Plot; the diametrical Passage following cross-ways, in the nineteenth, which terminates in the third Portico, and which, on the Right-hand, has such another large Room, with a great Window, that looks above the Gallery in the middle. The Stairs appear in the Plan of

this Story, as being thoſe which are fixed in the Ground. The Apertures in the contiguous Walls are likewiſe marked at the ſecond Floor, tho' they properly belong to the ſecond Story.

CHAP. X.

Of the ſecond Story of the Amphitheatre, and its Plan.

AS the firſt Encloſure conſiſts of two Stories, ſo, before we proceed to the more inward parts, we muſt aſcend to the ſecond; and here it is where the moſt artful part of this Building becomes moſt conſpicuous, and whereof, the truth is, all the able Architects who till now have treated on this head, have not had any right Notion at all; as may be particularly known by the Plans which *Deſgodetz* and *Fontana* have given of the ſecond Story of the Coliſeum. For, beſides the Plan's being altogether erroneous, they don't give us any hint aboutt he Stairs and Paſſages by which they came at the Vomitories of the fourth Row, nor how they came out by the Stairs. In the Print I have ſhewn in what manner both theſe Architects underſtood it.

I muſt, however, apprize the Reader of that which cannot be expreſſed by the Plan, namely,

namely, that there are two Pavements in the ſecond Story, an interiour one lower, which is that belonging to all the Rooms or Inlets; that is, above which the ſecond Branch of the Stairs lead: The other Pavement is an exterior one, higher, upon the circular covered Way or Gallery, to which you advance by new Branches of ſmall Steps. We muſt likewiſe premiſe, that in this Order the Arches are not all of them of an equal height, there being eight which exceed the others by three Feet, namely, the four diametrical Arches, and other four in the middle of theſe; and yet not exactly in the middle, ſince between the one in the middle, length-ways, and the other middle one, croſs-ways, there are ſeventeen Arches. Hence there are eight which remain on each ſide of that in the middle, where the higheſt Arch we have mentioned, leaves ſeven on the ſide near the Breadth, and nine on the ſide towards the length.

But now let us begin from the loweſt inner Floor, upon which all the ſecond Branches of the Stairs reſt, ſhewn in the Ground-Plot, and let us proceed from Number V. in order to humour the Bending of the Stairs; the Knowledge of which, I believe, will be much facilitated by the Shafts which ſhew their Extenſion. See likewiſe at Number V. in the Plan of the ſecond Story, that the left Branch of the double Stair takes its beginning

from a Flat, which finds an Aperture on the Right-hand thereof. This Aperture repreſents a round Gate, in height 10 Feet 6, broad 7 Feet, which may be obſerved as it is exactly in the 10*th* Plate, which you muſt have here before you. By it you go through a Paſſage which takes up the Space of Number IV. the Pavement of which is ſhewn in the ſaid Plate, by a Part not ſhaded, which diſtinguiſhes it. At the Bottom of the Paſſage, there is the inner Gate of one of the Vomitories of the third Round, with ſix ſmall Steps, which are preſerved here in ſeveral places, and are ſhewn in the Drawing. In the ſame manner you go to all the Mouths or Openings of the third Line; that is, that moſt of all the Doors of the Entries are likewiſe preſerved in the high parts, and are uniform in all the four Rows; high 7 Feet 9 Inches, wide 6 Feet 6, and all of Stone: the Pavement is all of large Flag-ſtones; the ſix ſmall Stairs are almoſt all of red Marble, which aſcend from them to come out again in the Stairs; they are one Foot broad, high 10 Inches.

The ſame Paſſage, over-againſt that by which we enter, has another ſquare Gate, 7 Feet 6 Inches high, allowing for the Threſhold, there remaining 7 Feet which admits Light, with a Breadth of 4 Feet 4, all of huge Stones, about 4 Feet in bigneſs.

neſs. Through it we paſs into the third Space, where there is a Room, in form like the anterior Paſſage, but ſhut up at the top, and from which you go through a round and leſſer Door, without Pilaſters of Stone, into a broken Chamber, which perhaps had Light from a Window which might have been in the Wall, and ſhut up on the outſide; but theſe Walls are all deſtroy'd. Theſe two Rooms, with their Doors, could not be ſhewn in the Plate; but it was of conſequence to ſhew the Stairs, with their Paſſages and Places of Retreat.

But here we muſt remember, that of theſe three Gates, the firſt, which from the Flat goes in length along with the Paſſage, has no Marks of ever having had Impoſts, nor any other Encloſure; but the other, which leads into Rooms, appropriated either for laying any thing up in them, or for ſome other particular Uſe, has two round Holes in the Stone of the Threſhold, near the Side-Poſts, one on each hand, and two others correſpondent with them, in the Traverſe above; which ſhew, that in them the Hinges of two parts of the Gates turned: that is, two round Pieces of Wood or Metal, which entered above and below in the Holes, and turned round, cauſing the Impoſts to play. By this we diſcover the manner of the ancient Impoſts, called *Poſtes* by the *Latins*, and the true Signification of the words *Cardo*

and *Polus*, in *Greek* τροφεὺς, which is as much as to say, a Thing capable of turning; *Rutulus*, in the ancient Glossaries. However, [1] *Vitruvius* calls those *Cardines*, round which we imagine the World turns, by the *Greeks* called *Poles*; for which reason, [2] *Isidorus* called a *Cuneus* or Wedge, the Hinge.

But let us return to Number V. From that Flat, going streight forward, we ascend by six Steps up to the circular Portico; and turning to the Right, we observe first, that in the inner side, between the Pilasters which correspond with the two forementioned Rooms, the Mark of a Wall or Pavement, about half the height of a Man, which enclosed them, appears; being instead of a Parapet, leaving a free Passage above for Light. Then at Number II. we find a Stair, with two Branches, the first consisting of six small Steps, the other of eight, both hollowed out in the breadth of the same Space. This Stair leads into the little Room which is above the great Gate, where the Arch is highest; tho', for all that, the Roof is not higher, but only the Arch, which, contrary to the others, concenters in the Wall, and thereby makes three Feet more of Light. In the inner Point of that Chamber, there is the Gate, with little Steps which lead into that Vomitory of the fourth

[1] *Lib.* 9. *c.* 7. [2] *L.* 14. *c.* 8.

Line,

Line, ſituated on the end of the Oval. On the outſide of the ſame Room we ſee the beginning of a Vault, which has gone upwards, with the Veſtiges of the Stair upon it, and a Gate in it of ſufficient height on account of the Arch, which, as we have ſaid, riſes here more than the others. Where that Stair led, we ſhall mention afterwards.

We ſhall now only obſerve, that one of the four exterior Arches of this ſecond Floor, which by good luck are preſerved, gives us plainly to underſtand, that in theſe eight Situations, there have been Partition-Walls of Marble on each hand, which croſſing, took the Stair up in the middle, and run from the Pilaſters of the firſt Encloſure to thoſe of the ſecond, ſince we ſee the Capital cut in the middle on the inſide, and the Stones cheſſeled and made ſmooth, appearing to have been joined with each other. We have likewiſe Marks that theſe Walls of Partition had Arches, or a Door, in the middle, for paſſage. But beſides, we ſee, that from the Partition-Walls made of the ſame Stones, the empty Space of the external Arch was ſhut up in Front; and that the ſaid Wall was no more than one Foot in breadth, and ſituated at the middle of the Pilaſter. So much we learn from the Capital of the ſame Pilaſter being cloven and laid open: The Plan, however, has been ſupplied here, where theſe Traverſes are ſhewn, and the Stairs pointed

pointed out, of which ſure Evidences and Veſtiges are found.

Having deſcrib'd the firſt five Spaces of the ſecond Story, we ſhall now proceed to the ſeventh; in which a Flat appears, the Right-hand Branch of the double Stair leading thereto, and has a Door on the Left. Thoſe that were to return to the third Order of the Openings, enter'd by it, and found the Diſpoſition of the Parts there like that at Number IV. and whoever was to aſcend to the laſt Order of the four Openings, went up upon the Portico, and in the neareſt Space on the Right-hand, found a Stair which has a Door at the end thereof, and likewiſe the Out-let of the Vomitory. This Stair falls on that of the middle of thoſe which are double. At Number IX. there is nothing, the great Room of the Ground-Plot being at its full Height, even to the Roof or Vault which ſupports the Steps. In the Walls of theſe Laterals are two Hollows placed perpendicularly, which ſerve by way of Conduits for conveying away all manner of Naſtineſs, and for the Water which fell on the Roof of the high Lodge; where large Pipes of Metal have been found. The Marks and Veſtiges of the Wall, which ſerved as a Fence to thoſe who walked on the Portico, are ſeen every where. After the foremen-tioned ſmall Steps of Number VII. which bended towards the left, paſſing by two Spaces

Spaces above the Portico, in the tenth we find a Stair with two Branches, like that of Number II. only that it bends to the Right, this to the Left. The Remainder of this Space is without any Pavement, like the next of Number IX. By the ſaid Stair we enter into a ſmall Room. Number II. is like that of Number I. with the Door of a Vomitory on one hand, a Stair on the other, which aſcended towards the firſt Encloſure, and alſo between two Walls. Theſe Separations divided the exterior Portico into eight parts, all of them like that already deſcribed.

Number XII. has the ſecond Branch of a plain Stair, from the Flat of which, turning to the Left-hand by an arched Door, we enter into a Room directed to one of the third Vomitories; and aſcending above the Portico, one might paſs thro' both to the Stair at Number X. and by paſſing the Door croſs-ways, to the Stair, Number XV. like that of Number VI. both of which lead to the Opening of the laſt Order. The fourteenth Space is at its full height, like that of Number IX. Number XVI. leads both to the Opening of the third Line, which is on its Right-hand, and to that of the fourth on its Left. The eighteenth is an empty Space at its full height. In the nineteenth the Arch turns higher, and the little Room alſo, which has Stairs on each hand. Thus have we diſcuſſed what belongs to the ſecond

cond Story, and ſhewn all the Stairs which lead to the two laſt Rows of the Vomitories, and likewiſe to thoſe high Parts which were above the Steps.

CHAP. XI.

Of the interior Covered Ways, and the Encloſure of the Middle.

THE Section of the largeſt Paſſage given in *Plate* IX. ſhews that after the three Arches above the iſolated Pilaſters, there follows another, a Foot higher and two broader. Through it we enter into the middle Ambulatory, the Roof of which is 28 Feet high. The Pavement was laid with Flags of the uſual kind of red Marble, ten Inches thick; and there are ſtill ſeveral ſquare pieces remaining above the Conduit under ground. In this Covered Way, on the part towards the outſide, there are firſt of all the Out-lets, with Architraves over them, or the Doors of the Paſſages already mentioned; the Pilaſter has 4 Feet on each ſide: Next follows the Void or empty Space, of only 4 Feet 10, for the aforeſaid reaſon, which occaſions the two lateral Paſſages to have ſo ſmall an Opening, and are contiguous to the great ones. The ſecond empty Space is 7 Feet, partaking alſo ſomewhat of

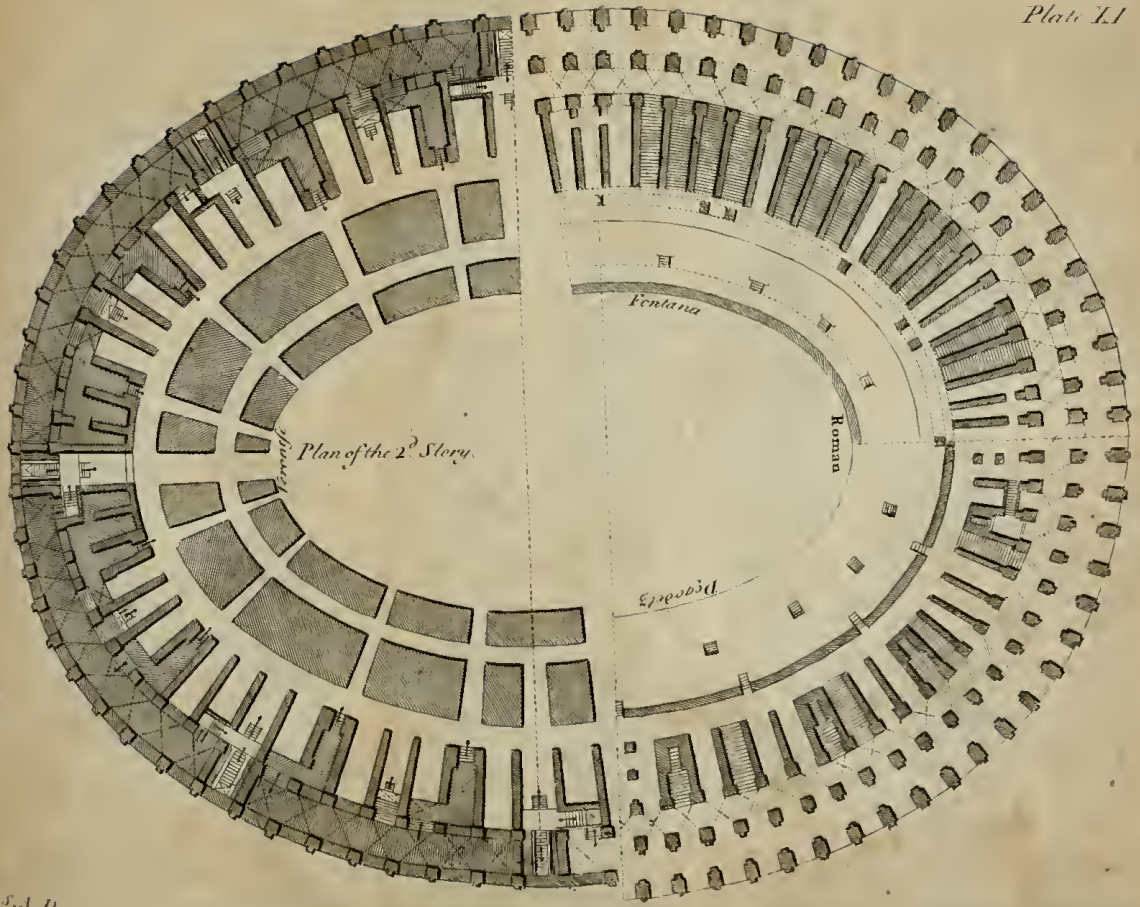
of the Narrowing. Next, is another Door, 10 Feet wide, through which goes the Paſſage towards the Center. Then follows a Wall corresponding with the three Spaces of the double Stair: then another Door, through which another Paſſage goes: After that a Wall, through four Arches; then another Door, and ſo goes on, even to the Door in the middle, croſs-ways; broad 10 Feet 4, which is one Foot 10 Inches leſs than the outer one correſpondent with it, on account of the Lines that approach, and which proceed to a Point. The external Side of this ſecond covered Way, may be obſerved exactly delineated in *Plate* IX. a part of it being in the middle of the Area, and another part on each ſide of the *Cunei* or Wedges.

All theſe Doors from the ancient Pavement to the Arch croſs-ways, which is of very ſmall Curvature, are 20 Feet 8 Inches high; ſo that the Poſts or Piers made of large Stones go higher than the foot of the Roof, which extraordinary Height ſerves to give greater Light to the Portico. But we muſt not neglect mentioning the Windows which are in two Rows, ſome on high at the Bending of the Roof, and ſquare with the great Stone above, ſloping. Of theſe we have made mention, ſpeaking of the ſecond Branches of the Stairs: They receive Light through an Arch of the ſecond Story, and with the

Direction of that ſloping Stone, ſends it in a very curious manner into the Rooms, or Priſons, which are on the other ſide of the Portico, as we ſhall afterwards mention. There are others ſomewhat lower, and arched at the top, and much larger than the others; to every firſt outer Stair one of theſe correſpond, and are found oppoſite to every Stair of the other inner Circuit. Theſe, for the moſt part, have been lately fill'd up; the Paſſages being likewiſe ſhut up with Walls, in order to make theſe places uſeful.

But to return, in order to obſerve the other ſide of the Portico, the Drawing of which is ſeen in the ſame Plate, from the part over-againſt the Wedges. At the beginning of it there is the Wall of a Room, which has its Entry on the other ſide, and on this hand only a high and narrow Window, or a Slip, as we ſhall call it: Then there is a Gate with an Architrave, through which you paſs to the third Portico, and is as high as that which correſponds with it in its Front. Next follows a ſmall Room, which ſhews that it was made uſe of for a Priſon, but not for Wild-Beaſts, becauſe it has the Door too narrow; and this is form'd by four pieces of Stone, of which, that which makes the Traverſe above, is two Feet high, and enters into the Wall, taking up much more Space than the Door. In the higher part the Architrave follows; under it is a Window of this Priſon, one Foot wide

Plate II



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wide and three high, and in this comes the Light from the Window which is oppoſite to it, with the Pavement above over-hanging. Theſe Doors have a round Hole in the Threſhold, and another above, into which the Poles of the Impoſt entered. Next is another Door of the uſual Height, with a Stair conſiſting of ten Steps, upon which is the inner Door of an Opening of the ſecond Row, and beyond it other eight ſmall Stairs, which have the *Præcinctio* or Bench above it. The Window above that Stair throws the Light in, and is on the other ſide a little lower and arched. The reſt goes all on in the ſame manner, divided into Priſons, Paſſages and Stairs, with the ſame Diſtributions of Light. But the Plan and View of the inner and hidden covered Ways, makes every thing ſufficiently underſtood. The twelve Priſons have all the Doors in the ſecond Ambulatory, without any manner of Out-let on the part towards the Area. There is alſo a ſmall Loop-Hole beſides the Slip of the Window, which was cut through above the Steps; the manner of which may be obſerv'd in ſome ſmall ancient Pieces which have ſuch round Holes. As to thoſe few rough Steps, now miſhapen by the North Winds, I remember a good many Years ago, having by chance gone into the Arena; I juſt came in time to hinder, as it were, by mere Force, the Deſtruction which the Maſons were about

to make of them, who had reſolv'd to remove them and put new ones in their place. I was equally lucky on another occaſion, in hindering them from demoliſhing the ſmall pieces which remain'd of the higheſt Roof of all, and from boring, in a cruel manner, the lower Vaults in ſixteen places, as ſome ingenious Ingineers had reſolved to do, that ſo they might make uſe of it for a certain Affair of their own. But to proceed: We muſt take notice, that the Paſſages, as well as the Doors and Rooms, do not a little encreaſe in breadth, as they come towards the middle, being much wider than towards the Point of the Oval. The little Doors, however, of the Rooms or Grotto's, keep all the ſame Meaſure and Form, which is a Confirmation that they were Priſons for thoſe condemn'd to the Beaſts. I don't know in what other place ſo many and ſo large pieces of the ancient Walls of the *Romans* are preſerved: ſo that here, better than any where elſe, we can ſee the manner of their Building. They are built of Stones, but all broken; the Mortar is mixed with, and full of Pebbles or ſmall Stones: However, in that Paſſage of *Thucydides*, quoted in the ſecond Chapter, I have explain'd it [3] *Ghiaia*, where others have not well tranſlated it *Pieces of Stone*. This Cement or Mortar, is become ſo ſolid, as even to exceed Marble itſelf in

[3] χαλιξ, rendered, *Fruſta Lapidum*.

hardneſs:

hardneſs: this we are confirm'd in by conſidering the marvellous Duration of the four Pieces which belong'd to the outer Roof, diſcovered on the falling down of the higher parts, which for ſo many Ages had bore the many heavy Rains which have beat againſt it, and the Injuries of the hard Froſts. The Stones are not continued from above downwards, but at the diſtance of every Yard there is a Courſe of Pilaſters, with three Rows of large, broad, four-corner'd Stones, alternately. This Order is kept every where, ſo that the whole Wall, by theſe different Strata, as we may ſay, is better lined and kept ſtrait; and the truth is, our modern miſhapen Walls make at the beſt but a very dull Figure, whereas in ancient times, the Walls as well as Roofs were made politely, nay, and painted too, as appears by the Remains of the Colours found upon ſome parts of the inner Roofs. In *Rome*, in the middle Paſſage of the Amphitheatre, not only have the Remains of ancient Painting been ſeen, but other genteel Ornaments of Stucco alſo.

We muſt not forget to obſerve, that at the top of the Pilaſters we find one particular Stone at every Door, larger than any of the others, and which enters two Feet within the Wall, and ſerves for the better binding and fixing the whole together. In the Doors towards the inner ſide, theſe Key-Stones are not at the top, but a little above

the middle. Nay, in the Windows alſo which have the hanging *Laſtra*, and ſend the Light into the Priſons, there are two ſuch Stones, but formed like half the Tail of a Swallow, and appear, as it were, like Wings to the other.

After this, is the third Portico, but not near ſo low as is repreſented in the many Drawings we have of it, but of the proper Height of twelve Feet; in it, from the ſide towards the Area, there is nothing beſides the forementioned Apertures, four of which led into the Area through a hanging Laſtra, and twelve on the Podium by five ſmall Steps. On the other ſide, there are only the Doors correſponding to the ſixteen Paſſages, and two more for the middle Ways in the Breadth, which, in the laſt Encloſure, have not an Opening leading to the Podium, as the others, but only an oblong Window, high on the Wall, which comes out on the Steps in order to ſupply the dark part of it with Light; but we cannot give its preciſe Form, becauſe in the Reparations both the parts have been altered.

The Doors which are in this inner Ambulatory are ſix Feet high, and in the middle, at the Key-Stone or Quoin, they are raiſed ſix Inches more: Thoſe in the middle are nine Feet three Inches wide, the two neareſt nine Feet, the others ſomething leſs. They are compoſed of five pieces of Marble, two

of

of which make the Rows of Pilasters, which are large two Feet in square, some three, and the Architrave three. There is a current Opinion among Architects, that whatever is made with an Architrave will with Age fall to the ground; but I think they never can happen, where they are made like these Outlets we have described: for the Key-Stone in the middle is wedged, and, as we say, Swallow-tail'd. The two Stones on each side are 9 Feet 7 long, so that there remains 4 Feet and a half on each hand, on the out-side of the Pilasters, imbedded in the Wall: The eight that are near the two ends of the Oval, has the Traverse of one piece only, and this is the four through which the Passages go, which is represented in *Plate* IX. as is a Stone 12 Feet in length, the Square of it two Feet and a half thick. Tho', if now-a-days our Master-builders were to place such Pieces in that Situation, it would, I own, puzzle them a little. Not one of these Architraves is broken in the middle, tho' [4] *Vasari* says, all those of ancient and modern Stones are commonly so; at the same time he proposes a very good Method for keeping them from breaking, and the truth is, he gave a very good Example thereof in the beautiful Building of the *Ufizi* in *Florence*. Of this Fabric, those who have had occasion to mention it, or to make a Draught of it, have not ob-

[4] *Introd. cap.* 3.

ſerved what was moſt wonderful, that the Front, all around, is out of the Perpendicular; yet, for all this, neither is it perceptible to the Eye, nor does it prejudice the Firmneſs thereof; in ſo much that another Story being afterwards placed above it, and ſome hundreds of Marble Buſto's and Statues, yet no part thereof has moved.

With regard to the inner and ſolid Encloſure, we have ſaid enough already. The Doors which led the Spectators of the greateſt Note, by means of five Steps on the Podium, were neither higher than thoſe in the upper part of the Building, as one might believe by obſerving more Steps cut by their Openings at preſent, than what is obſerved by the other Doors; nor were they leſs, as *Deſgodetz* and others have aſſerted, by imagining, without any Ground, that they ſerved for the Admiſſion of the Wild-Beaſts; and alſo becauſe, before theſe Doors the Steps, by the Fault of the Repairers, are hampered at preſent; tho' at firſt they have all been equal to the others of the Vomitories, and of the ſame Form too. This Encloſure had no other Doors, nor in it any nearer Rooms, or any kind of empty Space, as has been hitherto believed; and it was ſo far from being contrived that the Beaſts might come out from it into the Area, that the five ſmall inner Steps diſcovered at preſent, by which they aſcended to the inner Doors, ſhew clearly how it was anciently made, and the Method uſed in the Shews.

But

But we must not forget, by recapitulating at present, that the inner part of the Amphitheatre had 66 Entries, including the two great Gates. Of these, the six lowermost at the ends of the Oval, served for the Actors, and led into the Area or Field. The other 60 were appropriated for the Spectators, and had all different ways, disposed in the following manner: Twelve strait Passages led to an equal number of Openings above the Podium, which crossed the Portico's and Enclosures from the exterior Arches: The Stairs consisted of five Steps. In like manner the two diametrical Passages led thither, cross-ways. Those who were obliged to come out by the Openings of the second Row, by entring through the 16 Passages which were disposed at equal Distances; (nay, there were 18, including the two in the middle, broad-ways:) did not go further than the second Portico; but finding therein the 16 Stairs of the second Enclosure, they ascended straight to their Outlets or Openings. All those to whom the Wedges or *Cunei* were assigned, which were correspondent to the Openings of the two higher Rows, found their Stairs in the outer Portico, eight of which were single, the other four double. Whoever was obliged to come forth from the third Row, by ascending two Branches of a Stair, remained in the lowest Floor of the second Story, and in the nearest Space to that, found the Door and Steps thereof: But those who

were to go on to the 16 Openings of the fourth Round, went up above the Covered Way or Gallery, and came out on the Steps two Ways: others, by the eight neareſt and ſtrait Stairs; and others to the eighth, in two ſeveral divided Branches, and entered into the high little Rooms which had the Vomitories at the top of them. In fine, thoſe who had the places aſſign'd them, which were higher than all the Steps ſeen at preſent, entered into the little Cloſets, but then proceeded forward, aſcending by thoſe eight Stairs which croſſed the interior *Ambulacrum*, which we have ſhewn in the eleventh *Plate*.

We muſt not forget, that there were ſixteen long Rooms, ſome of which were at their full Height in the firſt Encloſure, beſides eight ſmaller ones under the Stairs; and likewiſe twenty-eight Priſons with narrow Entries, and four Rooms with proportionate Doors in the ſecond.

I ſhall now lay before the Reader ſome of the moſt conſiderable Differences which may be ſeen in moſt of the Plans and Deſcriptions given hitherto of the Amphitheatre; not, however, with a Deſign to derogate in the leaſt from the Praiſe, which I willingly, and in the fulleſt manner, ſhall give thoſe who have laboured on this difficult Subject; but my Intention herein, is to give a right Impreſſion of the true Symmetry thereof, and to confirm what I have already aſſerted in

in this Treatiſe; tho', I believe, it would be ſuperfluous to mention the Authors who have wrote on this head, and yet have not underſtood Architecture. *Lipſius* and *Montfaucon* happily diſcuſſed the whole Difficulty relating to the Stairs, by ſaying only two words on the head; one, by the ſingle Expreſſion [5] *decuſſantur*, that the Stairs croſſed one another; which, the truth is, they never do. The other, by ſaying they went up to the Vomitory by [6] hidden Paſſages; tho' they are, by the by, all of them ſpacious and noble, *Deſgodetz* likewiſe, who has ſucceeded therein better than any of the other Architects, ſhews in his Section of the Coliſeum, as well in the firſt as in the ſecond Story, the Croſſings of Stairs; which, by the by, not only would confound the Oeconomy of the Building, but ſpoil the better part of it. Nor am I certain that *Serlio* drew it in that manner, giving no hint thereof in what he himſelf ſays on the Subject; but what appears to be ſo in his Book, is occaſioned rather by the Errors of thoſe who engraved his Plates; ſince there never could have been Stairs which meet one another, nor could ever the Foot of the Stairs, in the Gallery, in the middle, proceed towards the outer part of the Building; by which People would have been obliged to have come forward, and

[5] *Cap.* 21. *Decuſſantur.*

[6] *Tom.* 3. *p.* 259. *Per occultos meatus.*

then to return back again. So that the Assertion of * *Desgodetz* was but ill grounded, when he said, that in the Stairs of the first Enclosure, they entered not only from the second Gallery, or Covered Way, but also from the third; which is as much as to say, the first and second in our Arena. There would not have been much to be learned from the Architecture of the Amphitheatre, if [as they have hitherto made People believe] in so many places there had been two Stairs, one against the other, made in an useless manner, to proceed, all of them, towards the same Point. So likewise in the Drawing of the Amphitheatre of *Capua*, the Stair at the Letter E, made to go backward, is not right; nor is the rest done with greater Correctness, the whole being copied from the Imagination of *Lipsius*. Above all, it is wonderful, that no body has shewn the manner how People were led to the Openings of the third and fourth Rows, nor the Distributions of the Passages belonging to them.

Desgodetz, in his Plan, distinguishes the Stairs that go upwards, and others which go down, as if they were not all of them originally designed for leading the Spectators up to the higher parts of the Building; and says, that the Light on the middle Gallery, or Covered Way, comes from certain Slips of Windows. But those Windows he points out, in imitation of *Serlio*, in the middle of

* P. 246.

the

he Gallery itſelf, were not made to give Light; becauſe, ſcarcely is there any thing remaining to be illuminated by them, by reaſon of the great Height where they are placed, and the ſmall number that there are of them: Tho' I own, they are made to reflect the Light on the Priſons, and on the Stairs that are more forward; the Gallery itſelf receiving Light from the many and high Inlets or Doors in it. At the Opening or Mouth of all theſe Inlets in the Gallery, in the Plan of the Arena, he makes Steps, which neither are, or ever could have been: As, in like manner, in the firſt Encloſure, he made all the Stairs double, when one only in the fourth Round is ſo.

Then with regard to the ſecond Story, which, by curious Enquiry in the Amphitheatre of *Verona*, might make the whole plain and intelligible; neither does he give a Plan thereof, nor mentions a word about it, tho' he does about that of the Coliſeum, but has been far from conſulting truth therein; and yet that is the very part which he ought to have conſidered more diligently than any. For the greateſt Difficulty in this Building, conſiſts in well underſtanding in what manner People went up to the higher parts of it, and how the Paſſages were ſo contrived as not to croſs one another. Beſides, he marks out a Stair croſs-ways, upon the third Space of the middle Encloſure, which agrees not with

the

the Symmetry of the Building, nor in that Situation or Manner could it have ſtood there. In the firſt Encloſure he entirely omits all the oblong Rooms, which ſerved for uſeful Repoſitories; for where could they otherwiſe have laid up ſo many wooden Utenſils, Inſtruments and Accoutrements, which were neceſſary in the Shews? Nay, [7] *Vitruvius* ſpeaking of the Theatres, ſays, that in ſuch places they had Magazines of Neceſſaries from the City. In the ſecond Encloſure, inſtead of Priſons he ſhews many Outlets into the inner Portico; which would indeed have been uſeleſs, ſince two uniformly alike, near one another, are ſeen no where. In the *Roman* Amphitheatre, he makes the diametrical Paſſages come croſs-ways into the Area, which is repugnant to the nature of the thing, for many reaſons, as is already ſhewn. So that as well in that of *Rome*, as the other of *Verona*, he makes the Vomitories lower than they ſhould be, leaving out every where the Steps which led to the Podium, without having conſidered that it was neceſſary likewiſe that they ſhould have aſcended or entered ſomewhere; and that by aſſigning all theſe Openings to the Area, the Podium which was the moſt noble place of any, remains conſequently without any Entry at all. Nor was it convenient to deſcend to it from the ſecond Row of Vomitories, and from the Steps, ſince even the very loweſt Rank of the

[7] *L. 5. c. 9.*

the People were never obliged firſt to go up, and then come down again.

Theſe Remarks I have made about *Deſgodetz*, becauſe I have found him, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, more deſerving Conſideration than the others; moſt of the other Books wrote on this head being, as it were, wrote at random, and as their Fancies have led them. So that from what has been ſaid, we may gather, if I am not miſtaken, how remote the Study of Antiquity is from that Degree of Perfection to which it is commonly believed, and as the many ſplendid Volumes commonly ſhew it; by which that kind of Merchandiſe is current every where, ſpreading its Gloomineſs over the Globe.

CHAP. XII.

Of the higher Stories on the inner Side of the Building.

THE Eſſays hitherto made by Authors on the Subject of Amphitheatres, have been very commendable; and a fine thing it is, to repreſent thoſe Parts of the Fabric, which tho' not ſubſiſting at preſent, have however left behind them manifeſt Evidences and Marks, that they have been. But what ſhall we ſay at preſent, when we are forced to attempt the Deſcription of thoſe highermoſt Rounds or Encloſures which appear no more, and in the

the Situations of which, there remains nothing but Air, incapable of having any Mark left in it at all?

In treating of this, it is neceſſary, firſt of all to direct our Thoughts on the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, in which a Method is left to find out ſome Traces of it, and thereby gather Conjectures about that of *Verona*.

That the Coliſeum had likewiſe within it other Stories, erected proportionately above the Steps of which we have already treated, the outer parts thereof plainly indicate; but how and in what manner they have been, is not poſſible to aſcertain wholly.

In Prints, the truth is, we have no more to deſire that way, ſince there have been ſeveral Deſigns publiſhed, which ſhew the Inſide without any Want at all. Among others, we ſee thoſe of *Lipſius* and *Fontana*, tho' the fact is, they are all Chimæra's; it being undoubtedly certain, that the inner and higher parts of the Building muſt have been exceedingly different from what they have imagined about them. But laying aſide any other Arguments on this head, it is manifeſtly certain, that the moſt wonderful part of this Edifice conſiſted in the inner ſide, being all Front, the whole Space from top to bottom being divided among the Spectators. But, according to the Fabrics made with the Pen by the forementioned able Men, no leſs than the half would have remained filled

filled up by a blind Wall, like the common Views we have of Houſes and other Buildings. Theſe Authors had no further Conſideration about the vaſt number of Spectators which flowed into the Amphitheatre, nor about the Impoſſibility that ſo many could have been contained upon, or in the Steps hitherto deſcribed.

We read in *Publius Victor*, that the Coliſeum contained eighty-ſeven thouſand places within it; ſome Texts have ſeventy-ſeven thouſand: *Lipſius* imagined it ought to be underſtood of the known Steps only; but we have obſerved already, in Chap. II. that the Steps of our Arena admitted no more than twenty-two thouſand People to ſit on them; nor could a greater number be contained there of old. Now, calculating with Exactneſs according to the Meaſures on the Steps of the Coliſeum, and even allowing a great deal in that Calculation, within the *Cunei* or Wedges of the *Roman* Amphitheatre, no greater number than about thirty-two or thirty-four thouſand People could have been contained. So that, if *Victor* did not ſtreeth the number a little too much, we muſt conclude that about fifty thouſand had places in the higher part of the Building, and on the Steps which we ſee at preſent. The upper part of the Amphitheatre, 'tis certain, contained a great number of Spectators; nay, much more than

what had Seats on the Steps, as will appear: But they could not have been contained there, if, according to the Ideas of our Antiquaries, the two Stories above had been built inwardly; for in that manner, very few People could have been placed, the greateſt part of the Situation loſt, and the extreme Height of ſuch a Pile have three Fifths of it rendered of no uſe at all.

To pretend to explain preciſely the Form and the Particulars of the inner ſides of theſe two Stories, is vain to imagine; but with regard to the Structure or Building in general, we know where to recur with certainty, namely, to Medals; to which thoſe who have wrote about Amphitheatres ought to have had recourſe, and not to Invention. From the top of the Steps to the exterior Encloſure in the Coliſeum, there was the Space of two ample Portico's. We ſee, however, in the Medals of *Plate* I. that on one of them there were new Rows of Steps, which filled up the higheſt places; for the ſmall Globes mark'd out in them, repreſent Spectators. The Prints, on the other hand, would make us believe, that a Partition-Wall was erected, with Windows and Doors, above the third Wall. [1] *Apuleius* mentions Windows, Pillars, and Statues on high in the Inſide; but in this Paſſage he ſpeaks of a Theatre, and indeed there are ſeveral things in his fictitious Ac-

[1] *Lib.* 3.

counts,

counts, that we ought not to regard: For he makes his Theatre to have had Drainers for Water, and a Roof; and, in another place, exhibits [2] Shews of Wild-Beasts in it. Of such Partition-Walls, with Windows in the Amphitheatre and Doors, we have not the least Mark of them in any Medal whatsoever; but however, we may gather from the first three, which were coined at a time when Arts flourished, and which shew Distinction and Perspective; that in these Steps, tho' much fewer in number, there was Place for a considerable Body of People, and perhaps but few less than what were contained in the Places already described: and this, not only on account that these Rounds or Seats mentioned last, extended more in Breadth than the former, but because we see no kinds of Vacancies in them at all; whereas in the lower a great deal of room must necessarily have been lost by the Apertures, the small Stairs, the *Præcinctiones* or Benches, and the two great Doors. 'Tis moreover credible, that these Steps highest of all, were less commodious, and therefore less, and nearer one another, than those below, being only appropriated for People of the lowest Rank. On the outer side of the Coliseum we see some Openings, alternately placed between the Pedestals of the fourth Story, which may have given Light to some small Covered Way

[2] *Lib.* 10.

or

or Gallery, appointed for the Paſſage of the Workmen, who in numbers went to the top of the Building, to manage the Curtain or Pavilion.

The other Space, which came to fall on the firſt Portico, was filled up by a Round of large Covered Lodges, in which a great number of people were contained; as we may underſtand by the very great Enlargement of the Round, and likewiſe by the Height, in which the fourth Story, at leaſt, in the Coliſeum, exceeded greatly any of the other three, as we have ſeen already. So that it is probable, that the Roofs of theſe Lodges were under the great Windows which we ſee in the fourth Story of the Coliſeum; ſo that both Air and Light might come into it, when the Amphitheatre was covered. For my part, I dare not however affirm it, for the Medals ſeem as if they came up even to the very Top of all.

That the higheſt part of the Amphitheatre, where the Spectators ſtood, was covered, is confirm'd by a Paſſage of *Calphurnius*, among the others, which we very ſoon ſhall mention in the next Chapter. In this part the Amphitheatre was like the Theatre of which *Vitruvius* names, *the Roof of that Portico which comes to be above the higheſt Gradation.* Of ſuch a Portico, and of ſuch Lodges, *Dio* is to be underſtood according to *Xiphiline*, where he ſays, that in the Games exhibited

exhibited by *Nero*, by way of a feigned Honour done in memory of his Mother, who was murdered, an Elephant [3] *was drawn up to the upper Roof of the Theatre, and from it was brought down by Ropes, carrying a Man on its Back.* Whether this wonderful Fact was performed in the Theatre or Amphitheatre, *Xiphiline*'s method in using that word, sometimes for the one, sometimes for the other of these Buildings, leaves us in doubt: But be that as it will, the Version made of *Dio* into *Latin*, makes the thing too wonderful; for, according to it, the Elephant was not drawn up to that terrible Height, but went up to it on foot; not by Ropes, but by walking *upon a Rope.* Hence some have understood, that *the walking Elephants on Ropes*, according to *Suetonius*, shewn for the first time by *Galba*, did dance upon these Ropes. In the *Greek* the plural Number is used; and so does *Pliny*, when he writes, that the Elephants were taught to [4] *walk upon Ropes.* Perhaps there may have been several Ropes joined together, which formed a Plain, or Floor, sufficient for these huge Animals to walk upon: But, be that as it will, that which the Historian relates about

[3] *Lib.* 61. Ἐλέφας ἀνηχθη ἐς τὴν ἀνωτάτω τοῦ θεάτρου ἀψῖδα, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ σχοινίων κατέδραμεν ἀναβατην φέρων.

Elephas introductus in Theatrum in summum ejus forn. conscendit, atque inde vehens hominem in fune ambulavit. icem

[4] *Lib.* 8. *c.* 2. & 3. *Per funes incessêre adversi funibus.*

Nero's Shews, was wery wonderful, with regard to the great Height thereof.

At preſent I ſhall mention what will be entirely new to many, who think that the top of the Colonades was Compoſite, *viz.* that the interior Parts of theſe two Stories we have deſcribed, that is, the Steps and Lodges, were of Wood. *Tarquin* gave a Sample of ſuch a Structure in the Circus; having, as [5] *Dionyſius* aſſerts, made the lower Seats of Stone, the upper of Wood. By this we come to underſtand thoſe Paſſages of *Dio*, *Lampridius*, St. *Jerom* and other Writers, quoted in the firſt Book; in which we read, that Conflagrations ſometimes happened in the Amphitheatre; becauſe, had the Building in every part been of the ſame Matter with what remains, it never could have been ſet on fire. Hence it is that [6] *Dio* expreſſed, in the great Fire mentioned in another place, that the Amphitheatre itſelf did not burn, *but all the upper Round of it*, together with what were not Parts of the Amphitheatre. That Fire is deſcribed by the Hiſtorian as ſo very violent, that it could not have certainly happened, and continued to be ſo raging, but where there was a vaſt Quantity of Wood. From that Paſſage it likewiſe appears; that the number of Spectators, aſſerted by *Victor*, could not have been all

[5] *Lib.* 3. αἱ δ' ὑπερῷοι ξυλινας.
[6] *Dio. p.* 899. τὴν τε ἄνω περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ πασαν.

accom-

accommodated with Seats on the Steps of Stone, as *Lipsius* imagined, but that a great number were placed in the two uppermost Stories; for without them they could not exhibit Games in the Amphitheatre. Besides, the northerly Circus in *Constantinople* was certainly such a kind of Building; for we read in the Chronicle of *Marcellinus*, that in the time of the Emperor *Anastasius*, the Steps of it were burnt; namely, those that were the highest of all, together with their Roof, that is, the covered Lodge.

That the highest part of the Building was Wood, we may also learn from Medals; since in them we perceive, that these Lodges were not arched, but with Architraves, a strait Post being placed between every large Space. This is sufficient for giving us to understand, that the whole was of Wood, and must have contributed greatly for leaving the Space open, and the View uninterrupted to the Spectators, who, in the first Medal, are seen placed even to the very Top of the Building. For Pilasters of Stone, and Arches, would have taken up a great part of the Situation there 'Tis true, that according to *Xiphiline*, in the account of the Elephant just now hinted at, he calls that higher part *Apsis*, which commonly signifies Arch, or Vault; but here it must not be understood of the empty Spaces between the Pilasters, which were arched above, but of

the whole Roof made like a Vault. However, in a Paſſage of *Tertullian*, which we ſhall mention in another place, that part was hinted at by the word *Cameræ*, which in *Latin* ſignifies the ſame as Vaults. *Vitruvius*, in the forementioned Paſſage, called it *Portico*, it being ſo in effect, tho' of other Materials, and higher than the reſt. *Calphurnius* gave it likewiſe the ſame Denomination in the Verſes already quoted; of this we muſt underſtand where he mentions *the* [7] *Portico laid over with Gold*, nay, in the Eclogue itſelf, where the Paſſage is well read and underſtood, it is expreſſly ſaid ſo.

Vidimus in Cœlum trabibus ſpectacula textis
Surgere, Tarpeium prope deſpectantia culmen,
Immenſoſque gradus.

Spectacula ſignifies here as much as ſmall Rooms or Cloſets, into which the Lodges appear to have been divided. So muſt [8] *Plautus* be underſtood, where he mentions that the Wind beat down the *Spectacula*; and [9] *Cicero*, where he ſays, *that Applauſe was excited in all the Spectacula*; and [*] *Livy*, that in the Circus every one made his own *Spectacula*. Theſe Rooms were made *tra-*

[7] *En illita Porticus auro.*
[8] *Curc. A. 5. 5. 1.* [9] *Cic. in Seſt.* [*] *Lib. 1.*

bibus

bibus textis, as it ought to be read; which manner of ſpeaking is taken from *Virgil*, where he ſays, that the *Trojan* Horſe was made *roboribus textis*. *Calphurnius* therefore ſaw in the Amphitheatre an immenſe number of Steps and Lodges, higher than the top of the *Tarpeian* Rock, all which were compoſed of Beams. For this reaſon were they gilded; and this is the *interior Circumference* of the Theatre, which *Nero* cauſed to be gilded on account of *Tiridates* being preſent at them; it being not well tranſlated by [10] *Xiphiline*, when he ſays, he cauſed the inner-ſide of the Theatre to be gilded all around. In all theſe places put together, the number of Spectators mentioned by *Victor*, might very well have been contained. The Circus, 'tis certain, held a much greater number, ſince even that of *Tarquin* was ſufficient to contain a hundred and fifty thouſand Spectators, if we can believe [11] *Dionyſius*; and the *Circus maximus* of *Cæſar*, according to [12] *Pliny*, two hundred and forty thouſand; but there was no wonder in that at all, ſince it was three *Stadia's* in length: It was rather a greater Wonder to find eighty thouſand contained in ſo ſmall a Space as that of the Amphitheatre, which, in compariſon with the Circus, was ſmall; beſides, the Circus was ſtill more en-

[10] *Lib.* 63. τὸ περιφέρεια αὐτῆς πᾶσα ἔνδοθεν· *Ipſum totum, &c.* [11] *Lib.* 3. [12] *L.* 36. *c.* 15.

larged by *Trajan*, than what it was before his time.

The Form of the Amphitheatre of *Rome* gives us to underſtand in what manner that of *Verona* has been built, in the higher parts of it. Tho' we muſt remember, that of the two Spaces on high, which correſpond with the two external lower Portico's, that of *Verona* had only but one; the Encloſure in it not being doubled, as in that of *Rome*. A great part of the Steps of Wood ought to have been leſs, ſince the Lodges on high were a neceſſary Finiſhing and Ornament to the whole. But what theſe really were, I ſhall not preſume to affirm. In ſome ancient Pieces of the higheſt Steps of all, 'tis obſerved that uniform Spaces are kept, and counter-marked, and always of three Feet and a half in length: Theſe Spaces come even to the middle of the Step, and leave as much Place as one may conveniently ſit in them. In ſome likewiſe there are two Holes, as if they were made for Pivots to turn in them. It would ſeem to indicate, as if Pilaſters of Stone had been correſponding with that on the outſide: if ſo, *Ligorio* gueſſed right, when in his Plan he drew it in that manner. But it is the contrary, for the third Pavement is not of Flag-Stones, nor ſupported by a Vault of the Wall, but appears to have been of Wood; be-

becauſe the Modilions which are prominent inwardly, and form'd by the ſame Stones which on the outſide make the Frieze of the third Story, are hollowed croſs-ways, and adapted for receiving the Travatures. We likewiſe ſee in the *Faſcia* which is above them, ſeveral Holes in which the Traverſes of the Ceiling entered, or other things of Wood and Iron which belong'd to it. That the third Floor or Ceiling was of Wood, we may conclude likewiſe, becauſe the external Partition-Wall [in which the third Story is reduced] has no Thickneſs capable of leſſening ſo much in the fourth, as was ſufficient to impoſt another Roof of the Wall a-new: As it is in the two below the uppermoſt Order, where the Windows were, perhaps, not higher than the others, as in the Arena of *Rome*; but was lower like that of *Pola* and *Nimes*, and perhaps remained free to thoſe who managed the Awning or Cover of the Amphitheatre. Be that as it will, we cannot doubt but that there was as much room for near as many People in the higher parts of the Building, as what were contained on the Stone Steps below.

CHAP. XIII.

The Order and Manner how the Spectators were placed.

SINCE we have already treated of all the Places in which the Spectators ſat, 'tis neceſſary we ſhould ſay ſomething with regard to the Manner how they were placed, and the Order kept therein. Since this has a good deal of relation with the Nature of the internal Form of the Building, ſuch an Account will ſerve for making us comprehend the better what is already ſaid, and for underſtanding many Paſſages of ancient Authors. But not to make Digreſſion, I ſhall not pretend to trace the Hiſtory of its Inſtitution, which we find begun in the *Circi*, even in the time of the Kings of *Rome*, nor ſhall I ſpeak of the Changes which happened. It is certain, ſome general Diſtinction among the Spectators was made in Amphitheatres. *Firſt*, There was that of the Senatorian Order, and thoſe others poſſeſſed of the chief Dignities. This moſt noble Claſs had their Places on the *Podium*, and all around it: In the middle of it there was a Box, that was locked up, called the *Suggeſtum* or *Cubiculum*, appropriated for the Emperor. In the Theatre of *Rome*, there were Boxes for the other dignified Perſons alſo, mentioned by *Vitru-*

Vitruvius by the Name of *Tribunals*; and *Suetonius* ſpeaks of that of the *Prætor*. In the Amphitheatre I find no mention of them. Another Diſtinction was for thoſe of the Equeſtrian Order. We learn from [3] *Dio*, that *Lucius Roſcius* (by Surname *Otho*) Tribune of the People, in the Year 687 of *Rome*, introduced a Law, carefully to ſeparate the Seats of the *Equites* from the others. [4] *Pliny* writes, that the Tribes, at the perſuaſion of *Cicero*, pardoned him for having made ſuch a theatrical Law; ſuffering willingly on his account, that their Inferiority, by ſuch a Difference, ſhould become the more conſpicuous. But *Juvenal* could not help ſhewing his Anger on account of this Fact; and tho' it was a long time after it had been put in practice, could not refrain ſaying, *That ſo did it pleaſe the vain* Otho *to make ſuch a Diſtinction.*

We learn from the Epitomy of [5] *Livy*, that the fourteen lowermoſt Steps were appointed for the *Roman* Equites; and becauſe the Diſtinction of the Rank depended on the Tax they paid, for that reaſon, in *Auguſtus*'s time, many Equites who were decay'd in Fortune, did not dare, on that account, to ſit in any of the forementioned fourteen Steps or Rows. But this number might be kept in the Theatre, where the Sena-

[1] *Lib.* 1. *r.* 7. [2] *Aug. c.* 44. [3] *l.* 36. [4] *l.* 7. *c.* 3. [5] *l.* 99.

tors

tors and People of Quality in *Rome*, ſtood in the Pit. But it is credible, in the Amphitheatre, where the *Podium* could not be ſufficient for thoſe of the firſt Rank, thoſe of the ſecond Claſs having been encreaſed in great numbers, their places were alſo extended higher up in the Building; in effect, the number of fourteen Steps up to the firſt Bench or Precinction, does not anſwer in our Amphitheatre, ſo as to make us believe, that they were confined under that Bench. I ſhall likewiſe add, that in the Amphitheatre, it ſeems they did not only regard the Diviſion by the Steps, but more particularly thoſe of the *Cunei* or Wedges, ſome of theſe being aſſigned entirely to the Senatorian and Equeſtrian Orders. For *Suetonius* relates, that the greateſt part of thoſe *Teſſeræ* or Counters, which *Domitian* cauſed to be thrown in the Amphitheatre, by virtue of which, thoſe who catched any of them, were entituled to the ſeveral Things, by way of Gift, ſpecified in every Counter; which, for the moſt part, having fallen among the Popular Places or Seats, the Emperor commanded that fifty of them ſhould be diſtributed, not to thoſe ſitting on the Steps, but [6] *to every one of the Wedges of the Senatorian or Equeſtrian Orders.* Nor certainly could ſo many Senators be contained on the *Podium*, nor ſo many of the firſt

[6] *Dom. c. 4. In ſingulos Cuneos Equeſtris ac Senatoris ordinis.*

Rank,

Rank, as came with their respective Divisions to the Shews. For of the sacred Dignitys, [7] *Arnobius* enumerates the *Pontifices*, the *Curiones Maximi*, *Quindecim Viri*, *Flamines*, *Augures*, and *Vestales*. In the *Circus*, *Claudius* appointed several and peculiar Seats to the Senators; and *Nero* to the Equites, as *Pliny*, *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* inform us.

The Tribunes sat in the same places of the Amphitheatre with the Equites; of which first kind the number was great, for there were those Civil as well as Military: and it was enough to entitle them to such places that they had been once of that Degree. Nay, [8] *Porfirio*, the ancient Interpreter of *Horace*, says, that the two first Ranks were of the Tribunes. The *Liberti* were, with much Precaution, excluded such places. So that [9] *Augustus* forbid the *Legati* of free People to sit among the Senators, because he knew that sometimes some who were only of the Rank of the *Liberti*, had been sent in that Character. And [10] *Dio* remarks as a singular Instance, that a certain Tribune of the People, who caused his Father, tho' a *Libertus*, or Freed-Man, to sit near himself in the Amphitheatre, that the said Action was not imputed to him as a Crime. The Women sat in the Covered Lodges, in the upper part of the

[7] *Lib.* 4. [8] *Ad lib. Epod.* [9] *Suet. c.* 44.
[10] *Lib.* 53.

Building;

Building; where it is credible there may have been other Steps on which their Chairs were placed, as *Calphurnius* mentions.

From *Plutarch* it appears, that in the time of *Scylla*, Women and Men ſat promiſcuouſly together at the Shews. In *Ovid*'s time, they ſtood in the ſame manner in the *Circus*: Where, in his Treatiſe of Love, he gives us to underſtand, that the Men made their Court to the Ladies, by taking care that none ſitting behind them ſhould in any ways moleſt them. But *Octavianus* ſeparated them, and would not that they ſhould be placed but in the higheſt Parts, and this even if Gladiatory Combats alone were to be performed. He only made an exception of the Veſtals, to whom he appointed the beſt Places in the Theatres. And that they had Seats likewiſe on the *Podium*, we learn from *Prudentius*. The Ladies of the Blood Royal, or *Auguſtæ*, ſat very often among the Veſtals. But on the higher Parts of the Building, the loweſt Rank of the *Plebeians* ſtood behind the Women's Chairs, as did the others who had no particular Place aſſign'd them. Such was the general Diſtribution of the Places in the Amphitheatre, it being impoſſible to determine about them in a more particular Manner. If we remark a Paſſage in the Eclogue mentioned already in ſeveral Places, it would ſeem that all the Steps, even up to the Lodges, were filled

up

up ſometimes by the People of Rank: For the Poet ſays, that he himſelf was once forced to go among the Chairs of the Women where the common *Plebeians* were ſtanding; having found that on account of the great Concourſe of People, all the Places were filled up by the Equites and Tribunes. It is very credible, that among the popular Seats they were divided into Tribes, every Individual having his own Place aſſign'd him. Thus it ſeems to have been neceſſary, in order to ſhun a Crowd, or Confuſion and Diſorder; of this we have a Hint in an antient Gloſſary, which renders the Word *Cuneus Theatri*, φυλὴ θεατρῶν.

By what has been ſaid, we may, I think, underſtand the Diviſion of the *Cavea* ſpoke of by Writers in the *firſt*, *middle* and *higheſt* Spaces, the Signification of which Words have not been well underſtood. [11] *Lipſius* thinks by the firſt, is meant the loweſt or whole Equeſtrian Order; by the middle and high Spaces, the other Marble Steps. [12] *Bulinger* thought by them the Diviſion of the *Præcinctiones* or Benches is to be underſtood: But the truth is, as to the firſt mentioned by *Cicero*, the *Podium* was underſtood, and perhaps the lowermoſt Steps too, which were appointed to thoſe of the greateſt Diſtinction: By the middle, men-

[11] *Cap.* 14. [12] *De Senect. qui in prima Cavea ſpectat.*

tioned by [13] *Suetonius*, all the other Steps of Stone: For the higheſt ſpoke of by *Seneca*, and call'd the laſt by *Cicero*, they underſtood the Steps and Lodges of the two higher Stories; if moreover, the higheſt Steps of Wood were not comprehended in the middle Diviſion, the Lodges only remaining in the higher Parts. [14] *Seneca* by the Word of the higheſt *Cavea* underſtood thoſe for the *Plebeians*. In the middle Seats *Auguſtus* ordered that none of thoſe who wore brown Cloaths ſhould ſtand there, that is, People of mean Condition; however [15] *Calphurnius* ſaid, that he prohibited thoſe who were meanly apparelled and poor, from coming near the Places that were the moſt noble, where the Emperor himſelf ſat: For great care was taken that Order ſhould be kept. [16] *Auguſtus* caus'd a *Gregarian* Soldier who had placed himſelf on one of the Fourteen Steps, to be removed from thence. *Domitian* iſſued firſt an expreſs Edict to keep the Steps appointed for thoſe of the Equeſtrian Order from being taken up by *Plebeians*, as [17] *Martial* tells us. There were certain Officers called *Locarii* appointed for taking care of the Seats, and who caus'd People to remove out of the Places in which they had not a Right to ſit. Some of theſe *Locarii*,

[13] *Aug. c.* 44, *ne quis Pullatorum media cavea.*
[14] *Ad ſummam caveam ſpectantia.*
[15] *Pullaque paupertas.* [16] *Sueton. c.* 14. [17] *L.* 5. *Ep.* 8.

whoſe

whoſe Names were *Oceanus* and *Letius*, are famous in *Martial*. *Quintilian* mentions the Power and Extent of the *Theatrical Law*, by which any Perſon thought himſelf greatly injured, who was made to riſe out of his Place wrongfully, becauſe that was a thing which concerned his Property and Condition of Life.

Lipſius [18] aſſerts, that the Place for the Senators in the Amphitheatre, was called *Orcheſtra*, which he ſaid was a very ſmall Affair, made up only of four or five Seats. [19] *Bulinger* interpreted that which [20] *Suetonius* writes about the *Arena*, as having a relation to the *Orcheſtra*. So *Spanheim* in the Medal of *Gordianus Pius*, which has the Repreſentation of the Amphitheatre upon it, ſays, that the Emperor and Senators are to be ſeen in the *Orcheſtra*; and ſo does *Harduin* on *Pliny*, and all the others: but the truth is, they are very erroneous therein. For to call any Part of the Amphitheatre *Orcheſtra*, there is no Example thereof in Antiquity, and the very Word it ſelf is repugnant to ſuch a Signification; it being ſo very peculiar to the Theatre, that *Dio*, in order to expreſs the Amphitheatre, Theatre, and Circus, [21] called them by the Words, the *Hunting Theatre, the Hyppodromus, and Orcheſtra*, and St. *John*

[18] *C.* 8. *&* 11. *&* 14. [19] *De Cir. c.* 35.
[20] *Aug. c.* 44. [21] *Xiph. in Nero.*

Chryſoſtomus

Chryſoſtomus [22] in like manner, in order to expreſs the Circus and Theatre, called them *Hippodromus* and *Orcheſtra*. [23] *Suetonius* writes, that *Claudius* permitted the Ambaſſadors of *Germany* to ſit in the *Orcheſtra*, having taken their Simplicity and Frankneſs in good part; for having of their own accord, when they ſaw the Ambaſſadors of the *Armenians* and *Parthians* ſitting in the *Orcheſtra*, removed from the popular Seats where they had been conducted; but here it is ſpoken of the Theatre.

On the contrary, where the ſame Hiſtorian [24] relates that *Auguſtus* on a certain Day when the Shews were exhibited, led the Hoſtages of the *Parthians* through the middle of the *Areua*, and placed them above himſelf on the ſecond Subſellium or Bench, he does not there ſpeak of the Theatre; however *Caſaubon* had no room in this Place to underſtand it, by the ſecond Row of Seats in the *Orcheſtra*; nor likewiſe do I underſtand it as being the ſecond *Cuneus* or Wedge, as *Torrentius* would have it, but the ſecond Row, in which *Auguſtus* cauſed the *Parthians* to ſit above himſelf. By the 14 *Subſellia* or Benches [25] *Martial* ſays are to be underſtood the Steps for the Equeſtrians.

[22] *Hom.* 15. *ad pop. ant.* τὴν ὀρχηστραν ἐφραξαν.
[23] *Cap.* 25. [24] *Cap.* 43. *muneris die.* [25] *Lib.* 5. 28.

Some

Some generally add to this Blunder another, in believing that the *Orcheſtra* of the Theatres was made up of Steps. *Bulinger* affirms, that there were four or five of them: *Harduin* in that Place of *Pliny* where he ſpeaks of the Nets which defended the *Podium* from the wild Beaſts, comes next to explain the *Orcheſtra* of the Theatres, and ſays with *Lipſius* and *Bulinger*, that it conſiſted of four or five Steps, and that the lowermoſt next the *Podium* was the moſt noble of any; for this end he quotes the Verſes of *Juvenal* cited by *Lipſius*, in which it is ſhewn, that the firſt Families were placed on the *Podium*, but the *Orcheſtra* of the Theatres was nothing elſe but that Area in the middle which we now-a-days call the *Platea* in *Italian*, or Pit; which among the *Grecians* ſerv'd for dancing, from whence it took its Name, and the *Romans* brought their Dances on the *Scena*, where the Senators and Perſons of Quality ſat upon portable Forms or Benches. That Paſſage however of *Juvenal* is of no Importance, when he ſpeaks of the *Podium*, and not of the Steps; of the Amphitheatre, not of the Theatre; and when he mentions that thoſe who were moſt noble ſtood in the *Podium*, not in the *Orcheſtra*. The ſame Author in another Place interprets it *Theatre*, where *Pliny*, ſpeaking of Lions, calls it *Arena*, and where this laſt mentioned

[25] Author ſpeaks of the People defended from the Wild-Beaſts by Palings of Iron, gives us to underſtand, that *they called the Area*, Cavea, *which is in the middle of the Theatres, from whence the People beheld the Games.* Hence they *called the Arena the Cavea of the Amphitheatre, becauſe Sand was ſtrewed over there.* But the truth is, neither in the Theatre was there need to ſecure the People from the Wild-Beaſts, nor did they underſtand by the word *Cavea* the Field; nor from the Field did the People behold the Games, nor did they ſtrew the *Spectatorium* in the Amphitheatres with Sand, but only the *Area.*

Theſe Particulars I unwillingly enter on, and only as they are neceſſary for the better illuſtrating the Subject in hand.

But beſides the above-mentioned general Diſtinctions, there were others more particular. In the time of *Auguſtus*, every good Regulation with regard to the Amphitheatres, was found in Confuſion, and had been neglected: For that Emperor, beſides annulling the firſt Laws, [26] ordered the Soldiers to be ſeparated from the reſt of the People, and aſſigned them their Places; and certain Steps alſo for married People to ſit on, according to the ancient uſage of granting peculiar Privileges to them in different ways. However [27] *Martial* jeſts with *Didimus* the

[25] *Ad. l.* 8. *c.* 16. [26] *Suet. c.* 44. [27] *L.* 5. 42.

Eunuch,

Eunuch, who boasted that he might sit among Gentlemen, tho' he owned that he could not among Husbands. From *Pliny* the Younger we have an Account, that among the Honours conferred on those who had three Children, one was to sit distinguished at the Shews. And *Augustus* ordered, that the *Prætextati*, *viz.* the young Men (called so because they wore a hemm'd Gown till they arrived at the Age of Eighteen) should sit in a distinct Place by themselves. It was very much the Custom in ancient times, to make great Distinctions on account of Age. The College of the *Fabri* was divided by *Servius Tullius* into two *Centuriæ*, namely, one of the oldest, the other of the youngest Men. Likewise in the Theatre of *Athens*, the Youth were placed among one another; as may be gathered by the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*, and from [28] *Pollux*. The supplicant *Jews*, who came to *Rome*, were distinguished into Companies of Old, and Young, and Children, as we learn from [29] *Philo*: The Ministers of Magistrates had likewise Places appointed them; hence *Tacitus* relates, that an *Accusator* had, as a Reward, liberty to sit in the Theatre among the *Viatores* of the Tribunes. We might have known many other Particulars, if the *Roscian* Law had been preserved, of which we have

[28] *Poll. l.* 4. *cap.* 17. ἐυσέλιον.
[29] *Legat. ad C.*

already made mention. In it I learn from *Cicero*, that Bankrupts, and those who had wasted away their Substance, were confined among themselves; he [30] upbraiding *Marc Antony*, who notwithstanding that, had placed himself on one of the fourteen Steps. The forementioned *Cunei*, formed by the small Stairs, made so many distinctions easy. For this reason [31] *Suetonius* says, that *Augustus assigned over his Cuneus to the young Men, and the other, next to that, to their Pedagogues*; who being so near them, might observe their Behaviour.

These publick Edifices served also sometimes for other Uses besides the Shews. In *Greece*, the Councils of the Cities assembled for the most part, in the Theatres. [32] *Salmasius* was of Opinion, that the public Distributions were given in the Amphitheatre; and that of Money given in *Martial*'s time, seems to be confirmed by the Jest he bestowed on that Gentleman, who, after having received his Portion of the Money, went forward to the other [33] *Cunei*, in order to scramble for more. But *Giacopo Gottofredo*, with a good deal of reason, denied that either in the Theatre or Amphitheatre, the [34] People had the Distribution of Bread given them,

[30] *Phil.* 2.
[31] *Cap.* 44. *Prætextatis Cuneum suum, & proximum Pædagogis.*
[32] *Ad Hist. Aug. p.* 374.
[33] *L.* 1. 24.
[34] *Ad C. Th. de Ann. Civ.*

called

called *Gradile*, becauſe it was beſtowed on the Steps. The Inſcription of [35] *Gruter*, concerning the Donative given by *Claudius Creſimus* to the People, *per Gradus*, which is quoted for that purpoſe by thoſe two great Men, is falſe, tho' we ſhall not enter upon that Subject at preſent.

We have, however, another Inſcription, and a true one, which may bring forth very much Light in this matter, either for confirming what is already ſaid, or for producing new Diſcoveries therein. Towards the end of the laſt Age, four Miles from *Rome*, ſome pieces of Marble were dug up, on which was mention of what regarded the College of the twelve Brothers, the *Arvali*. This was a Prieſthood, ordained to make Sacrifices for procuring Fertility of the Fields or Country. The Inſcriptions were immediately publiſhed by Monſeigneur *Torre*, in the Monuments of [36] *Anxium*. The moſt curious Particular in them, is the Deſcription of the Place appointed to theſe Prieſts in the Amphitheatre. The Aſſignation, from the ordinary Conſuls which are mentioned in the Stone, appears done in the laſt Year of *Titus*; that is, the firſt when the Amphitheatre was made uſe of. The ſame has been practiſed with the other Ranks of People. From what is contained in this Inſcription we learn, that a Place was given in various manners

[35] *Grut.* 175. 8. [36] P. 388.

to the College *Arvale*; namely, first, to *the first Menianus, in the twelfth Cuneus, in eight Marble Steps*: Then, *to the high second Menianus, in the sixth Cuneus, in four Marble Steps*: Then, *to the high Menianus, in the Boards of Wood*, at Number LIII. *in eleven Steps*. The Space assigned in all these Places or Situations summed up, shews that it exceeded 129 Feet and a half; but as to the number of Feet distributed in every one of the Steps, and in the noted Sums of them, there is a little Confusion. But we may at present observe, with how much Exactness the Places were distributed, and that Bodies were not set in a Line on one only Step, but rather in company from below upwards. So much room was allotted, because the dignified Persons came to the Amphitheatre with their Train of Officers and Servants: So we have seen already, that the Tribunitian *Viatores* had places. *Menianus* signifies a Place that is raised or flat, like a high Terrass for walking on. 'Tis credible, by the first *Menianus* was meant the *Podium*; tho' I don't find the Brothers *Arvali*, mentioned by [37] *Arnobius*, among the Priests, who came orderly and with Decorum to the Shews. The other *Meniani* are the Plains or Floorings of the *Præcinctiones*; which word seems to me to imply, that they had Borderings, and were

[37] *Lib.* 4.

Balustrades.

Baluſtrades. Beſides, it ſeems here, that by the word *Menianus*, is meant the Space between one Bench or Precinction, and the other. It likewiſe appears, that there were many *Cunei*, and that they became ſeparated, the one from the other, by the Benches; and that they were ſeven, having different Numbers upon them; nor could they have been in any other Manner, as we have ſhewn in *Plate* IX. We likewiſe found, in Confirmation of what has been ſaid, that there was an Order above the Marble Steps, and that many places were floored with Boards, and the ſaid Steps made of Wood, in eleven of which were the Servants of the College *Arvale* placed. For we cannot believe what [38] *Lipſius* aſſerts, namely, that the Servants or Train belonging to the Magiſtrates, ſtood likewiſe with them on the *Podium*. However, the Monument of Antiquity we have been deſcribing, is a moſt valuable one, with regard to the Amphitheatre.

I have ſometimes heard People wonder, how Gentlemen, and People of Quality, could ſit a whole Day upon cold Marble, without injuring their Health. The truth is, in that caſe it would have been worſe for them than the Plebeians, who ſtood aloft on Floorings of Wood; and the rather, ſince they beheld thoſe Shews

[38] *Lipſ. c.* 11.

likewiſe in the Winter Seaſon. But 'tis fit we ſhould know that abovethe MarbleSteps there were Boards of Wood laid, on which they ſat. So much do we learn from [39] *Dio*, where he ſays, in the times of *Caligula*, Cuſhions were ſet upon the Seats of the Senators, *that ſo they might not ſit on the bare Boards.* Father *Montfaucon* underſtood this Paſſage as if Cuſhions were placed under the Feet of the Senators; but methinks 'twould have been bad Oeconomy to make ſuch an uſe of them. Thus we ſee how the others ſat on Boards, and not on Stone; for not having known this Particular, we ſee the reaſon why that Paſſage of [40] *Dio* was ſo very ill tranſlated, where he ſpeaks of the Thunder we have already ſpoke of in another place: The Hiſtorian ſays, that by the Fire thereof, *all the upper Round was burned*, and with it τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ κύκλου ἐδάφη παντα. *Leunclavius* being followed in this Paſſage, by the Editor of the new Supplement to *Dio*, renders it [41] *quicquid eſſet in ſolo interioris circuli*; which might be rendered, *& pavimenta interiora omnia*; that is, all the Flooring of the Steps, or the Boards which were placed above the Steps. In the ſame Paſſage alſo I would not have tranſlated it *Arenarium*, and I would have ſaid, *it was kindled*, rather than *deflagravit*; the

[39] *Lib. 59.* ὅπλας μὴ ἐπὶ γυμνων τῶν σανίδων καθίζονται.
[40] *Tom. 3. p. 256.* [41] *Lib. 78.*

Am-

Amphitheatre itſelf having not been conſumed; but a Fire happening in it. The Cuſhions of the Senators became in uſe likewiſe among other Gentlemen, as is hinted by a Paſſage in *Juvenal*. The Uſe of them in the Theatre was not unknown to the *Grecians*; for *Theophraſtus* mentions them, where he ſpeaks of the [42] Flatterer. The Cuſtom of the Ladies ſitting on the Steps of the Arena of *Verona*, to ſee Comedies acted there, laſted till the days of our Fathers, but upon Cuſhions, brought thither by their Servants out of their Coaches. On the Podium, however, the People of Diſtinction ſat with a greater kind of Dignity, namely, on Chairs brought there on purpoſe. *Auguſtus* ſat there on a Currule Chair, as we learn from [43] *Suetonius*. For *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*'s gilded Chairs were brought thither, as [44] *Dio* tells us, the Form of which is ſeen in many Medals: The Materials of it we learn from [45] *Horace*, who calls it the Ivory Currule Seat, and peculiar to ſundry Dignities. But, perhaps, all thoſe of the Senatorian Order from Cuſhions became to have Seats in the Amphitheatre; and it would ſeem as if there were ſeveral Rows of them, ſince *Manneius* was derided by *Martial*, for having placed himſelf on the firſt Step, as he had uſed to do, before the Edict of *Domitian* was promulgated, by which it was

[42] τὰ πρὸς κεφαλαῖα.
[43] *Cap.* 43. [44] *Dio. l.* 58. [45] *Lib.* 1 *ep.* 6.

quite

quite removed, and so went and sat in the third Order of Seats; as I [46] read that Verse, which agrees with the Account of *Suetonius* above-mentioned, where he mentions the second Seat. *Vitruvius* likewise names Steps in the Theatre, on which Chairs were placed. [47] *Martial* speaks of *Forms* for Gentlemen; and there are other Passages which give ground to suspect, that they made use of Chairs. The Emperor *Arcadius* prohibited the use of them only to People of low Rank; nor do I understand that Law [48] *de usu Cellarum*, or portable Chairs, as others have done. *Ovid, de Arte, &c.* names likewise the *Suppedanea*, or Foot-stools. Besides, they likewise have, without doubt, practised the same in the Amphitheatres sometimes, as they did in Theatres, according to the repeated Testimony of *Dio*; namely, that in order to do honour to some, they put Chairs in their Places, tho' they were absent, nay, sometimes after they were dead. To *Germanicus*, after his decease, as [49] *Tacitus* tells us, Curule Chairs were placed, and above them Laurel Crowns, [as we find represented in several Medals] and that they were placed among those of the *Augustal* Priests. Hence we may gather, that the latter had the most noble Places allotted them in the Theatres and Amphitheatres.

[46] *Lib. 5. 14. Et inter ipsas pene tertias sellas.*
[47] *L. 5. 42.* [48] *C. Th. de usu Cellarum.* [49] *Ann. l. 20.*

CHAP. XIV.

The Velarium.

THE Facility of covering the Spectators with an Awning or Pavilion, was [with regard to the vaſt Height of the Amphitheatre, and the great Space it covered] not one of the leaſt wonderful Things about the Building. This Pavilion was called *Vela*, or *Velarium* by the *Latins*, and put over the Building, or removed at pleaſure, as need required. The Shews laſted the whole Day, all which time the Performers continued their Combats and diverted the Spectators: Tho' there were not wanting ſome, who went into the [1] Circus at midnight, in order to take their places; and People, when any remarkable Shew was to be exhibited, flocked thither before Day-break. That in the Morning there was a kind of Prelude made of Shews leſs pompous and fierce than the others which were to follow the ſame Day, I gather from the Deſcription *Ovid* gives of the Hind appointed to be ſlain in the *early time of the Morning within the Arena*; and from the mention which [2] *Seneca* makes, of the Laughter excited in the Amphitheatre, where People, early in the Morning, found the Bull and the Bear tied together, and afterwards both of them killed by the Wild-Boar. 'Tis

[1] *Su. Cal. cap.* 26. *Lampr. in Elag.*
[2] *De Ira, lib.* 3.

true,

true, some went away to dine, and then returned back again, as may be gathered from the Historians, where they relate that the Emperor [3] *Claudius* was not of that number, delighting greatly in the Mid-day Diversions; the Cruelty of which, tho' mixed with an Appearance of what excited Laughter, is however detested by *Seneca* and *Tertullian*. Of the Afternoon Shews St. *Augustine* makes mention, in his [4] Confessions. In the fourth Age, those of the Magistrates belonging to the Judicatures, were particularly prohibited by a [5] Law, from returning to the Games after Dinner, as was practised by the others.

The fervent Heat of the Sun made some kind of Sconce or other necessary at the Games. In the Theatres, the Spectators for several Ages were uncovered, and this Usage continued perhaps always in other Parts too; for as we learn from [6] *Apuleius*, a Comedy, on a certain occasion, was left off in the middle from being acted, on account of the Rain which fell: And [7] St. *John Chrysostom* reproves the People for having stood bare-headed, with the Sun scorching of them, in the Theatres. However, by one of [8] *Gruter*'s Inscriptions, we find that in the Theatres of *Italy*, even out of *Rome*, they had the Use of Pavilions or Awnings in those Buildings. We learn likewise from *Pliny* and *Valerius Maximus*, that *Quintus Catulus* was the

[3] *Dio. Suet.* [4] *Lib. 6. c. 6.* [5] *C. Th. de Spect. leg. 2.*
[6] *Florid. c. 16* [7] *Hom 4 c. 16.* [8] 1099. 2.

first

firſt who invented a Shade in the Theatre, and that therein he took example from the Luxury and Effeminacy of the People of *Campania*. Of a covered Theatre [9] *Pliny* makes mention in another Paſſage, which does not well agree with what precedes; but here we muſt underſtand it of a wooden fixed Theatre only. *Pliny* mentions the Architect thereof, *Valerius* of *Oſtia*; which Fabric was wonderful with regard to its great Breadth. I read in *Philoſtratus*, that *Herod* the *Athenian* made one covered with Cedar. That an Awning was extended over the Amphitheatre of *Verona*, is ſeen by a Piece of the uſual red Marble, ſomething more than two Feet in breadth, and almoſt ſquare, found in digging and ſtill preſerved. In it we obſerve, above one of the Angles thereof, in the Parts towards the contiguous Angle, ſeveral ſmall Bores made hollow by the continued Friction of the Ropes: The Remains of ſuch Stones ſhew them to have been Cords not thicker than the fourth part of an Inch; ſince thoſe that were large, and which ſupported the Weight, were fixed, nor did they run out in the ſame way that the ſmall Cords did; by which the Foldings of the Velarium were made to be pulled back and forward as there was occaſion; at leaſt I imagine it ſo. *Lentulus Spintro* was the firſt that invented [10] Coverings of Linnen-Cloth. But [11] *Dio*, as a Proof of the exceſſive Expence made by *Cæſar* at the Games,

[9] *L.* 36. *c.* 15. [10] *Plin. l.* 19, *c.* 1. [11] *Lib.* 43. men-

mentions that (as it was reported) he once cauſed the Spectators to be ſhaded from the Heat of the Sun with Coverings of Silk. But by the Games ſpoke of by the Hiſtorian, it ſeems probable, that the Place mentioned to have been covered by *Cæſar*, in the manner juſt now deſcribed, was his own Amphitheatre of Wood; which, at that time, was an Exceſs of Luxury, ſince the Silk was then not produced nor manufactured in that Country, but brought thither from remote Parts of the World. I obſerve in *Vopiſcus*, that even in the time of *Aurelian*, a Pound of pure Silk-Stuff was valued at the like Weight of Gold. *Nero* once cauſed Purple Veils to be ſpread over the Theatre, repreſenting the Heavens, with Stars of Gold thereon, and his own [12] Image embroidered in the middle, repreſenting the Sun driving a Chariot. However, the Covering was commonly made of Wool: This I conjecture from a Paſſage of *Tertullian*, where, in order to expreſs that God ſees even beyond the Amphitheatre, he ſays, *Extra Cameras, & Gradus, & Apulias.* [13] *Lipſius* ſays, he cannot imagine what theſe *Apuliæ* were. [14] *Bulinger* deduced that word from the *Greek*, and ſaid *Tertullian* had ſo named the higher Portico's. But *Tertullian*, in that place, ſpeaks of them as the inner part of the Amphitheatre, and names the Parts which filled it, *viz.* the

[12] *Xiph. in Ner.*
[13] *Cap.* 33. *de Apuliis fateor me non poſſe hiſcere, &c.*
[14] *Bul. de Th. in Proem.*

Steps,

Steps, Lodges, and Coverings; and to these, not the others, does he give the Name of *Apulæ*, for so must it be read, and not *Apuliæ*, viz. *Puglieſi*, which is as much as to say, Wool; rightly so named from *Puglia*, since the Wool of that Province is more famous than any where else, as [15] *Pliny* says. For this reason [16] *Martial* affirms, that that Country was ennobled not a little, by having had the finest Wool of any, as *Parma* was for the second kind, and *Altina* for the third sort. So the Woollen-Cloth, I say, was called *Apulæ*, from the Country *Apulia*; as Silk, for the same reason, was called *Serica*. So much does the Poet give *Apulea* the Pre-eminence above the other Provinces, because of the white Wool it produces; tho' the Velarium of the Amphitheatre was, for the most part, of dyed Wool, variously coloured; and this I gather from a Passage of [17] *Lucretius*, where he says, that the red Iron-coloured, and yellow Coverings of the Theatre, reflected back on the Assembly of Spectators, and on the Scene, undulating the whole with their Colours. So did they poetically paint the Appearance of the waving Motion produced by the Wind blowing on the Awning.

But it is not so easy to know [by what has been already said concerning the Vela-

[15] *L.* 8. *c.*48. *Laudatiſſima Apula. Apophor. velleribus primis Apulia. v. l.* 2.

[16] *Ep.* 37. [17] *Lib.* 4. *Coguntque ſuo fluitare colore.*

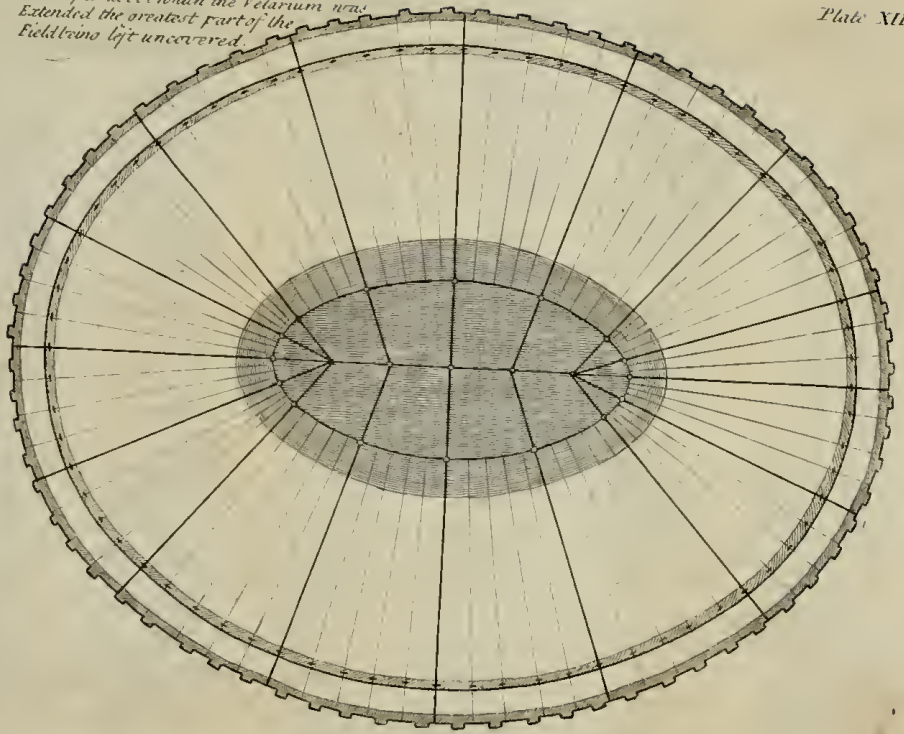
rium]

rium] the manner how the Awning, at ſo great a Height, could be kept ſpread over ſo ample a Circumference and Space, as that of the whole Amphitheatre, and the Method they had to manage it, at pleaſure. We learn from [18] *Lampridius*, that they cauſed the Marine Soldiers to handle it, becauſe more expert than the others in managing the Sails of Ships; yet as to the manner how it was performed, we are ſtill in the dark. In the Coliſeum we have obſerved, in treating about the exterior Circuit, that there were 240 large Corbils of Stone, into which an equal number of long Poles were fixed, which piercing through the Corniſh, ſtood erect, in order to ſupport the *Velarium:* But the Difficulty conſiſts in knowing how it was poſſible to keep ſuch large Ropes ſo very well ſtretched, and extended in ſo great a Breadth as was the Diameter of the whole Amphitheatre. As to this Particular, the *Roman* Architects ſeem to have had the only good Notion; and *Fontana*, in his Drawing, has well repreſented how that Affair was practicable, tho' he has not expreſſed the manner of executing it in Words. I here give you its Figure; but you muſt however imagine ſome other Particular, ſtill more to be added, becauſe by not conceiving it in any other Form than what is here repreſented, a fixed Covering might, I own, ſome way or another, have been placed upon it,

[18] *In Com. a Militibus Claſſiariis.* but

The Ropes above which the Velarium was Extended the greatest part of the Fieldtrino left uncovered.

Plate XII



but it does not appear how they could draw it backward and forward at pleasure; and yet we do know from History, that in the gladiatory Shews [19] *Caligula* took sometimes Delight when the Sun was most intensely hot, to order the Covering of the Amphitheatre to be drawn back and removed of a sudden; prohibiting any one whomsoever, from going away then from their Places, or stirring out of the Building.

Such a Work could not be otherwise disposed, but by forming a large oval Ring of thick Ropes in the middle, by which the greatest part of the Area was left uncovered; as it was likewise necessary for the Admission of Air and Light, and a Method not seldom used by the Ancients, even in their other Buildings, as may be seen in *Agrippa*'s *Pantheon*. This Covering or Awning, was to defend the Spectators from the Heat of the Sun, or from any sudden Rain which might fall, but not to cover the empty Space of the Area. For this very reason, perhaps, [20] *Calphurnius* called the Field open and uncovered. This Rope may have had several Rings of Metal round it, which may have served for having the principal Ropes fixed to them, rendering the Draught so much the shorter, serving instead of Pillars or any other Supporter which could be fixed in that place. When it occurred to prepare Games,

[19] *Suet. c.* 26. [20] *Qua patula juvenis Deus dedit Arena.*

this great Circle, [for ſo I think we muſt call it] muſt have been brought into the middle, and ſeveral ſmall Ropes fix'd to it by Hooks, which being carried ſtreight upwards to the top of the Circumference, might there, by means of Blocks and Pullies, be all drawn up at once, and equally hoiſted, by drawing up the Ring all round, and then be fixed ſecurely.

Theſe Ropes were, like the Ground upon which the Awning reſted, divided into different Plaits or Foldings: It may probably have been interwove with other leſſer Cords, and theſe, 'tis credible, went by the like number of proportionable Rings, and have been fitly diſtributed round the Cable in the middle, playing within theſe at the pleaſure of thoſe who ſtood above the uppermoſt Story, and running above the Corniſh; for all this was to be performed above the covered Lodges. The Ground-work of all muſt have been faſtned to the top of the Poles on the outſide of the Building, and perhaps at the foot of them too, and made to reſt horizontally above the Circuit of the ſecond Encloſure, upon Pillars of Wood; which, for that end, muſt have been erected higher in the fore part of the Lodges. The leſſer Cords, in the ſame Circuit, have reſted upon Pulleys, in order to make them move the eaſier, here only the Awning beginning. Perhaps in our Amphitheatre of *Verona*, they may

may have cauſed the Ropes thereof to have been extended over pieces of Stone placed above the Corniſh, in order to ſupport it the better: my Conjecture about this, ariſing from the piece of hollowed Marble, of which I have already made mention. Perhaps alſo they made it to paſs on the outſide, and directed it to the Windows of the higheſt Order: But, to determine the very preciſe manner how it was done, where we have only our Imagination to guide us, is, I think, a difficult Task.

How ſtrongly the greater kind of Ropes were ſtretched, and how firmly fixed, may be conjectured by the Method they had of hoiſting things up from the bottom to the top of the Building. Sometimes *Children* (as [21] *Juvenal* mentions) *were ſeen ſnatched up as high as the Velarium.* And [22] *Martial* ſpeaks of a Bull lifted up from the middle of the Arena, which appear'd as repreſenting *Hercules* being carried up to Heaven. We have certainly an account of the Machines wherewith they uſed to hoiſt up things aloft, as were common on the Scenes; which, as an ancient [23] Etymologiſt tells us, were called *Cranes.* But, perhaps, in the Arena, on that occaſion, they alſo made uſe of the principal great Ropes, appropriated for ſupporting the *Velarium*, and of the larger Hoop or Circle, as it was linked together. We muſt not

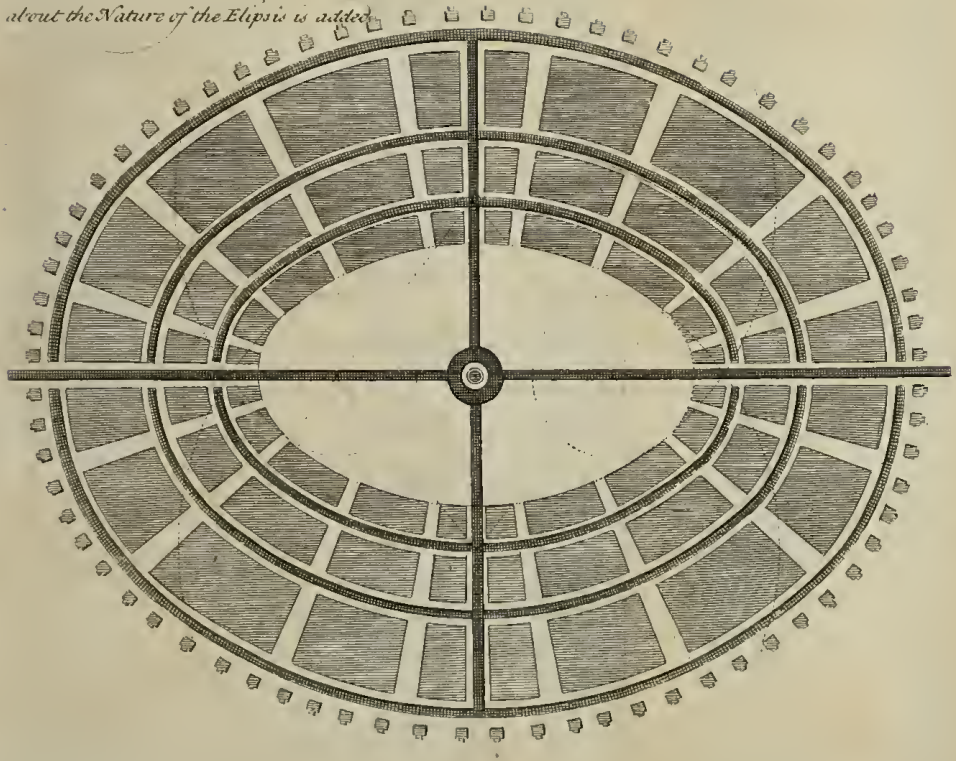
[21] *Sat.* 4. [22] *Lib.* 5. 15. [23] Γέρανος.

neglect to mention, that in reading the Hiſtorians it appears, ſometimes the Spectators were left without any Velarium at all, and ſo expoſed to the Injury of the Weather; ſince [24] *Dio* writes, that Hats, after the *Theſſalian* manner, were, in *Caligula*'s time, allowed in the Theatres, in order to defend the Spectators from the violent Heat of the Sun; the Ancients, otherwiſe, being uſed to go bare-headed. And [25] *Martial* tells us, that a certain Perſon's *Lacerna* or Cloak, which he wore of a black Colour, [contrary to the Faſhion of other People, who had them white] was, by a ſudden Snow which fell in the Amphitheatre, made white alſo. From the ſame Author we likewiſe learn, how that the *Lacernæ*, which were, for the moſt part, ſhort Cloaks, were generally made uſe of in the [26] Amphitheatres; but that is to be underſtood when the Wind hindered the *Velarium* from being drawn over the Building; which, as we learn by ſeveral Paſſages of the Poets, did not ſeldom happen.

[24] *Lib. 59.* [25] *L. 4. Ep. 2.*
[26] *L. 14. 125. Amphitheatrales nos commendamus ad uſus.*

CHAP.

The Subterraneous Conduits, a Demonstration about the Nature of the Elipsis is added.



CHAP. XV.

Of the ſubterraneous Part of the Building.

FROM the Air on high, let us now deſcend to the lower Parts of the Earth. It has been obſerved by many, that the Amphitheatre under ground, had Walls and hollow Places belonging to it; but as no body has taken the pains to dig and examine it to purpoſe, ſtrange things, I own, have therefore been ſaid on the Subject. *Andrea Fulvio*, *Marliano*, and others, have aſſerted, that this vaſt Pile was, in a great meaſure, ſupported by the *Cloacæ*; tho', at the ſame time, Conduits never were placed under high Walls. *Lipſius*, and many others, have believed that the ſubterraneous Cavities ſerved for Repoſitories or Store-Houſes, and Priſons for the Wild-Beaſts; without conſidering how narrow it was for that uſe, or that ſuch kinds of Beaſts could not be kept in Flocks together like Sheep, in order to bring any of them out at pleaſure. But having dug here in every Place, we have been able to make a perfect Plan of the Parts under-ground, as may be ſeen by the Draught.

In the Copper-plate, that round Figure which appears in the middle, repreſents a Well, and is exceedingly deep, in Diameter ſix Feet. Wells like this, and in the ſame Situation, may probably have been in every other Amphitheatre, for what we know. *Baluzio*, in his Hiſtory of the City of *Tulle*, aſſerts, he had ſeen there the Remains of an Amphitheatre, in the middle of which, he ſays, there was a Well, the Bottom of which could never be ſathomed. But the Bottom, I think, they may however hope to find, if they will ſeek better for it. Beſides, a Well in that Situation might likewiſe indicate, that a Theatre, or ſome other Building, may have been there. But laying aſide the fantaſtical Speculations, which are heard now and then concerning the Well of our Amphitheatre, the Mouth of which anciently was ſhut up and hid; the uſe of it is manifeſt, becauſe by its great depth, in the Center of the Field or Area, which was the loweſt Situation of any, it might have contributed not a little for draining the Water, and thereby to keep the whole dry; and the rather, ſince the Field was always uncovered, ſo that the Rain-Water which every where fell on the Awning, diſcharged itſelf into the Well; which Awning, by the ſlope which it naturally had, was ſomewhat inclined towards the inner part of the Building. This then was the *Compluvium* mentioned

tioned by the Ancients, within the Arena, and explain'd by [1] *Iſidorus*, as being that Place where *the Water all around was gathered*. And, I think, that the chief Benefit thereof, was to collect the Water that dropt or poured down on the Surface of the Field, which was higher than the Walls and Covering of the Conduits, and which was neceſſary to be kept dry. All the ſhaded part of the Drawing repreſents the Conduits ſituated in the middle of the three Covered Ways, and alſo length and croſs-ways, from one Point to the other, without coming croſs any Wall except that of the Podium, the Foundation of which is bored in two parts in the middle, under ground. None of them is leſs than ſeven Feet deep, and thoſe which run from one end to the other are four Feet and a half broad, thoſe croſs-ways are three Feet ten Inches, that of the middle Covered Way twenty-ſix Inches, and the other two, ſome more, ſome leſs. The Bottom of them is laid firm and ſolid, but that of the great Conduit has a Pavement of large Flag-Stones. Thoſe in the Ellipſis don't join with the others length-ways, but only with that other traverſe-ways; thoſe which croſs one another near the Center, turn off from the Well, which is ſurrounded with a Wall, and then they join again. The Walls of thoſe Conduits are built after the uſual manner of

[1] *Lib. 25. c. 7.*

the *Romans*, with the common *Strata*, at the diſtance of every three Feet, and with ſquare Stones, and three Rows one above the other, particularly at the Top. Above the ſquare Stones there are Flags of the uſual kind of Marble, which covers them fully, and forms a kind of Floor, no leſs than a Foot in thickneſs, and ſometimes even ten in breadth. In this likewiſe we diſcover the ſame uſe which we mentioned in the ſecond Chapter, namely, that the Borders of them are made ſmooth, but not the middle, in the Sides of the Stones which ought to join one with another. Having dug likewiſe before the other large Gate there, we found the Conduit not covered with Flag-Stones, but by a very large Vault; there being likewiſe two leſſer Conduits on each ſide, which joined with it.

The Uſe of theſe Conduits was, without doubt, to receive and diſcharge the Urine and other Soil, and alſo Rain-Water, which fell on the Amphitheatre. As to theſe things, the *Romans* wiſely took much care about them in their Buildings, and therein uſed great Magnificence too. In ſeveral places there are round Holes in the Flag-Stones above, by which, in taking up the Stone which cloſed it, a Man could eaſily go down into it. I have likewiſe obſerved [in the low part of the Conduit croſs-ways, where it paſſes under the inner Encloſure] a little Door, with a ſmall Stair which came out on

the

the third Step, where the Stone has been movable. Openings are here and there found likewiſe in the Walls of the Conduits: By theſe they laid, within thoſe Receptacles, ſeveral Channels or Spouts, which were diſtributed within the Walls, and placed along the Stairs, carrying Urine and the Water that drop'd thither, from the higher parts of the Building. The largeſt Conduits of all, came out with the ſame Breadth from the Amphitheatre, and run, one towards the River, the other towards the Rivulet called *Adige*; where, without doubt, they muſt have been emptied. About ten Paces further out from the Gate, a leſſer Conduit has been found, which, join'd with the great one, muſt have carried the Gutter-Water of ſeveral Streets to the *Adige* alſo. By our knowing for certain, that in the *Roman* Amphitheatre, when they wanted a great Quantity of Water, they brought in as much as ſerved for repreſenting their Naval Combats; this has made many believe, that they did the like in our Amphitheatre of *Verona*, and that the large Conduits ſerved for that purpoſe: But as to that, I cannot venture to affirm any thing; becauſe the *Adige* is lower than the Level of the Field of the Arena, nor have we any account of any Aqueducts made uſe of for that purpoſe at all.

Having,

Having, in the Drawing which I lay before you, given four Centers and four Circles by Lines dotted, this is to ſhew what the Form of the Oval of the Area is, and conſequently of the whole Amphitheatre; the Encloſures of which, correſpond with ſuch an inner Line. 'Tis neceſſary we ſhould ſpeak a little on this head. Every one ſees that after having, in this Treatiſe, called that of the Area of our Amphitheatre an *Ellipſis*, what is expreſſed in the Draught can be no mathematical Demonſtration thereof; it being, on the other hand, mathematically repugnant, that part of the Arch of a Circle can be at the ſame time elliptical. Nay, that the Arch of a Circle and one of the Ellipſis; can touch in any more than one Point, unleſs it was an Arch infinitely ſmall. That which is ſhewn in the Draught is only a Hint of the ſenſible Conformation, ſo that its Title in the Plate ought to be, *A mechanical Indication of the Elliptic Field*, it being in effect mechanically raiſed. So much is ſufficient for the Architect, in whom a perfect Exactneſs, and the abſtracted Meaſures of geometrical Calculation are not required; the Difference in ſo ſmall a Space, between the common and mathematical Computation being ſo minute, that it is not obſervable in Practice. So when, for Example, there is a Pillar to be raiſed, and placed any where, lying on the Ground, and a Calculation of its

its Weight to be made; by not knowing the Quadrature of the Circle, we cannot therefore know it exactly; yet the Error therein will be so small, as not to be of any importance in the Operation. But in order to give a more precise account of our *Area*, I shall add in what manner a perfect Ellipsis is described throughout its whole Circumference, which is sufficiently known by the bringing in of the Axis, indicated in its place; since that which is longest only being given, the Ellipses may be infinite in number, and so the short Diameter be determined, it cannot be but one. That the Ellipsis is perfect, I have prov'd in this manner, with the help of *Apollonius*, who shews, that two Lines proceeding from their Focus's, and brought to join in any Point of the elliptical Circumference, are always equal to the longest Axis. I have caused two Cords to be stretched over the Length and Breadth, representing the two Axes; then having taken another, equal to the greater one, I have doubled it, and made it become the half of it: Then fixing one end in one of the Extremities of the lesser Axis, I have made the other end touch the greater one, in the Point of their meeting. I have marked out the *Focus*, which I found 21 Feet distant from the *Vertex*; then, in the same manner, the other *Focus* from the other part. Then undoubling the Rope, having fix'd the Ends thereof in the places

of

of the *Focus's* themſelves, I extended the Rope with a Pin, which divided it into two Lines; this Pin I turned round, and found that it ſweeps the whole Round, and comes to touch the loweſt Step, except in that ſmall Tract where the Repairings have ſpoiled the Curvature. Every Amphitheatre has been of an elliptic Form, and varied only by the different greatneſs of the Axis; ſince unqueſtionably the ancient, as well as our modern Artificers, muſt have made uſe of this vulgar Method in deſcribing an oval Figure; by which they made it perfect, and after the *Apollonian* manner, tho' without ever knowing that its Focus's divide the Axes in ſuch proportion, that the Rectangle of the Segments are equal to the fourth part of the Figure, that is, to the Square of the leſſer Semi-axis. Nor that the Square of the Half-Ordinate is at the Rectangle of the Segments of the Axis, as the Parameter or *Latus rectum* to the Axis itſelf; and the Rectangle of the Segments is to the ſame Square, as the Square of the greater Axis to that of the leſſer. Nor do they likewiſe know the other fine Properties and Demonſtrations found out ſince *Apollonius*, by many excellent Genius's, and lately illuſtrated by *P. Grandi*, and without having heard of the admirable Effect which proceeds from this Figure, in the collecting Light and Sound; or the Honour done to this Curve, by its having

having been introduced into Heaven itſelf, according to thoſe, who do not find the Orbits of the Planets circular, as the Ancients imagined, but elliptical. And here we think proper to acquaint the Reader, that I have lately cauſed the Meridian Line of our City to be marked out with Chiſſels in ſeveral places of our Amphitheatre, as may be ſeen in the loweſt Steps on the left Hand going into the Building, and not far from the Entrance. In ſuch a conſpicuous Plan I thought proper to fix the Beginning of the Line, which ſhall be ſeen in another Volume carried out here and there through all the Territory, nay in one Place even to the *Po*, and in another, near to *Trent*.

There remains now nothing more to be ſaid with regard to the Deſcription of the Amphitheatre, the Structure whereof having been Part by Part ſhewn in the beſt Manner I could. Some Obſervations may only be added on the broken Parts or Fragments thereof, and the Pieces of Marble found in digging at different times. But while this Treatiſe is now printing, we may here ſhew Fragments of another kind, occaſioned by the Thunder, which having ſtruck in the inner Angle of one of the four higheſt Arches, has broken and looſed two large Pieces of the lowermoſt Stones, but not touched the Vault below, nor occaſion'd any Damage in the under Parts of the Building; nay, by the

Nature of the Stroke, and a ſmall Mark thereof on one of the upper Stones, it appears that the Direction of the Blow came from below upwards, and the large Flame above the lowermoſt Vault, ſeen by thoſe who were in the Streets a Moment before it fell, ſhews, that the Thunder began there, that is kindled, then ſplit, its Flight turning more ſubtile the higher it went up; and confirms my Opinion about the Generation of Thunder, which being looſe and unbridled, it firſt encreaſes by degrees, having but a little time ſince ſeen a ſmall Book in Latin wrote on that Subject, and publiſhed two Years ago in *Germany* by Mr. *Richter* a *Saxon* Philoſopher, in which he not only agrees in this new Opinion, but pretends to account for all its apparent Extravagancies in the Manner juſt now mentioned. But what ſhall we ſay, if in treating on this Subject, I ſhould add ſeveral new Obſervations and Arguments no leſs convincing than what I have formerly advanc'd; all which I have been thinking on ſince Mr. *Richter* tranſlated and quoted my Letter? That Thunder likewiſe, which occaſioned ſo great a Conflagration within the Amphitheatre in the time of *Macrinus*, makes us conjecture, that the Thunder was engendred there, not on high in the Air and Clouds. But of this we ſhall treat on another Occaſion, being at preſent to ſpeak not of the Pieces of Stone driven

driven off from the Building and ſcattered here and there by the Thunder, but of the very many Fragments of foreign Marble found there in digging; moſt of which were taken either out of the Well, or the Bottom of the great Conduits, particularly in the Situation of the moſt noble and moſt frequented Gate. This may encourage People to dig in that of *Rome*, with the Hopes of finding what may ſufficiently compenſate their Labour. The moſt conſiderable Fragments found at the laſt digging have been ſome Pieces of *African* Marble Pillars, the Diameters of which were about a Foot and a half, their Pedeſtals of Marble of our Country; next was the Top of a Pillar of *Grecian* Marble, the Diameter thereof near three Feet, then a Piece of a large half Pillar of the *Dorick* Order and fluted; then other Pieces of leſſer Pieces very deeply fluted, together with their Capitals, and Baſs-Relievo's, then Part of the great Corniſh, with Modilions and Dentings, with many other broken Pieces of Corniſhes, and other things, ſome of which were of Serpentine. Next a ſmall broken Pillar of *Ægyptian* Stone about two Feet high, and eight Inches thick; but of ſuch a kind, as I never before had ſeen among ancient Remains. By its Spots 'tis of the granate kind, but not with ſuch ſmall Spots; 'tis of a reddiſh Colour, but ſo very pretty, that it

is

is not eaſy to find any thing more agreeable; there are beautiful lucid Parts interſperſed thro' the whole, like Pieces of Agat, or rather Stripes of Silver. Which puts me in mind of the Marble which Father *Mabillion* ſays he ſaw at *Ravenna*, in which he imagin'd precious Stones were indented. There was a Head of *Parian* Marble of a good Taſte found likewiſe, of a Man twice as big as Nature; the Face is not of any Ancient we know. Laſt of all, we found half of a Horſe's Leg of Metal, and Part of the Head, above the common Size of that Animal, and done with an excellent Taſte.

Where the whole of theſe Pieces have been placed, is not eaſy to determine; perhaps they have not all belonged to the Amphitheatre, which once was itſelf a Receptacle for Fragments and Rubbiſh. There are beſides what is already mentioned, Pieces of Pillars of *African* and *Grecian* Marble, ſo very ſmall, that we may ſafely imagine them to have belong'd to the *Baluſtrade* of the *Podium*; in which likewiſe, at certain Diſtances, have others ſomewhat larger of Serpentine, and other choice Marble, been made uſe of. Perhaps ſome Statue or another of a moderate Size may have alſo been placed in the Amphitheatre, as we know others were in the Circus. 'Tis credible, the half-fluted Pillars ſtood at the two inner Doors of the Field. The Pillars of

African

African Marble may have been made uſe of in the great outer Gate, being dug up there. From Medals we learn where the Statues of the Horſes in Caſt-Metal ſtood; on them they ſhow a *Quadriga* above the great Gate ofthe *Coliſeum*, which, when placed there at firſt, may have alluded to the Triumph of *Titus*. In the ſame Place, exactly in the Middle of the Conduit, were our two Pieces found. We may ſee then how our Amphitheatre has likewiſe been enriched with ſuch Ornaments; ſo that both from this, as well as from what remains here hinted at, we may learn how well thoſe Foreigners have underſtood the Matter, when they ſaid this Building was a rough and coarſe Structure.

From theſe notable Remains, particularly of Pillars, they ſeem to confirm that which I hinted at in the firſt Book, treating of the Medals, namely, that there was a Veſtibul placed before the principal Gate or Entry, and adorn'd with ſeveral Pillars, and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Building as much with regard to the Materials, as the Workmanſhip thereof; perhaps above it the brazen Horſe may have been placed. In the Situation of the other Gate, correſpondent with that, but few things have been found. In order to give ſome Conjecture about the Marble Coloſſean Head, we obſerve in the Medals of *Alexander Severus* and *Gordian*, a Coloſſus repreſented as ſtanding near the

Amphitheatre, perhaps the like may have been here. But in the Medalion of *Alexander Severus*, another Statue ſeems to have been placed under the Veſtibul, and made in a different Form from that which appears in the Medals of *Titus*. The Head being found in the ſame Place, may make us believe, that ſuch another may have been near the Entry, and have repreſented the Perſon who preſided over the Fabric, or who may have contributed moſt to the Expence of building it. We muſt not neglect to obſerve, that the Fragments themſelves afford no ſmall Light to thoſe who can conſider them to purpoſe; 'tis obſerv'd, by way of Example, that at the Bottom of every Pillar, the ſmall Round which makes the Border, was by the Ancients kept ſomewhat higher in the Body of the Pillar, ſo that it might not bear a great Weight upon it. For want of this Caution in the Works of many of our modern Artificers, who, on the other hand, make the Center more hollow, we often find the little Round itſelf broke, and the End of the Pillar ſpoil'd. Nor muſt we either paſs by that which I have obſerved with much pleaſure in the forementioned Remains of the Statue of the Horſe; namely, that the Metal thereof is very fine, of a yellow Colour, and of a rich Compoſition: Beſides, the Piece of the Head is all beautifully in-laid length-ways with ſmall Streaks and Pieces of

of other Metal, among which several Foliages, or Branch-work, are nicely indented and interspersed on the Statue. These Indentings are of a reddish kind of Copper, which being of a different Colour from the rest of the Metal in which they were set, have an admirable Effect, appearing somewhat like Embroidery; besides, under the Ear, there is a square Piece, which instead of being placed along the Branch-work or Foliage, comes cross, and is silver'd over, insomuch that for several Days after it was found, it was taken for solid Plate: The Beauty and Perpetuity of the ancient way of gilding, every body knows. The Senator *Bonarotti*, * in his Treatise on the *Medalions* of the Museum of *Carpegna*, has already made a Calculation from a Passage of *Pliny*, how much the Gold Leaf of the Ancients was thicker than ours at present, and shewn the manner used by them therein. Now by this piece of the Statue, the Perfection thereof is known, and the Durableness of their silvering over Things seen, the modern Way of performing it being indeed much inferior. Moreover, by this we learn, also the above-mentioned laborious and ingenious Method the Ancients had in their ornamenting Works of Metal; namely, by Indenting and In-laying of such pieces, which I believe has no where else been discovered, since whatever hitherto has been known this way, has been

* P. 371.

by the frequent method they had of gilding Statues; which I believe however they did commonly, not by covering them entirely with Gold, but only adorning ſome particular parts thereof, which gave a greater Neatneſs to the whole, and render'd it more beautiful, as I know for certain, by ſeveral elegant little ancient Statues of Metal in my own keeping.

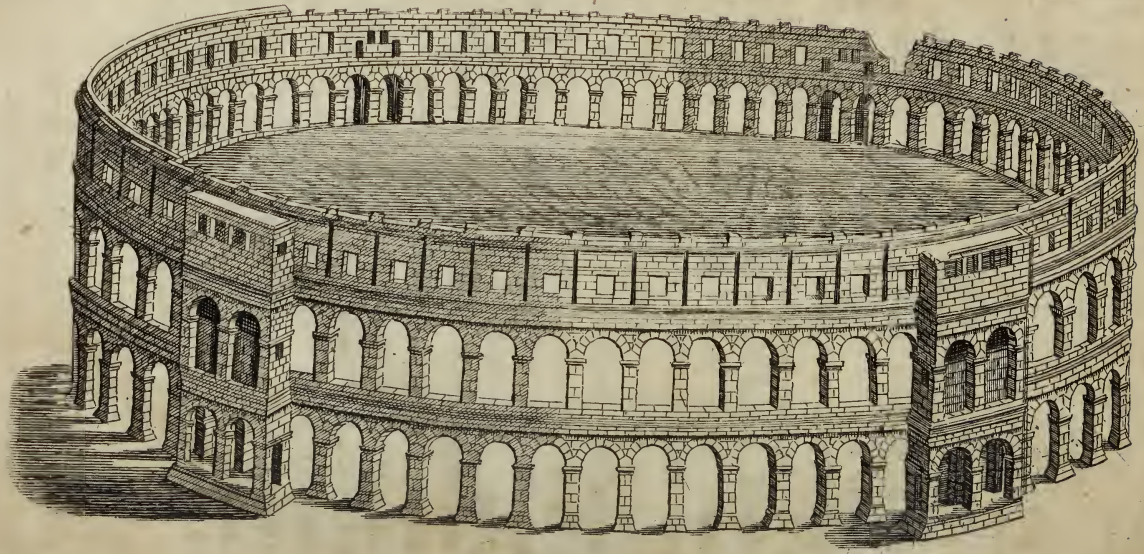
Laſt of all, I ſhall add, that whoever is endow'd with a good Taſte in thoſe Things, and will take pleaſure to examine well the Nature of this Structure throughly, will be forced to acknowledge that nothing more perfect, more admirable could be conceiv'd, ſo as to render the whole really magnificent, and a Maſter piece of Art: 'Tis enough to make us conſider, if we ſhould undertake without having this Edifice before our Eyes, that 'tis practicable to build a Fabric, which, without taking up more room than what it does, might accommodate ſo many thouſand Spectators in ſuch a Way, as that none ſhould incommode another; and with ſo many Diſtinctions and ſeparate Entries, and Convenience of entring, and coming out in a very ſhort time, without Confuſion and Diſturbance; and with ſuch nice Diviſions of Stairs, and Out-lets on the higher Steps, and with ſo much Convenience of Places for various Uſes, without hindering in the leaſt their Communication with one another, or their Proſpect either within

within nor without. And what an Appearance would it make, if we could at present see the highest part of the Building and the Passages and Stairs which led up to the Lodges, and above these to the highest Cornish? Besides, what shall I say of the great Circumspection kept up in the whole, the Contrivance they use, and the different Admission of Light within it? How very difficult the Invention was, we may learn by observing how the modern Architects have succeeded, when in their Drawings they have endavour'd only to supply what is wanting and is destroyed, from the great part that remains. Besides, we may gather this likewise, by seeing clearly how very little that which is seen remaining of the Building has been as yet understood. Let us then give the praise due to those Citizens of *Verona*, who by the Provision they sagaciously made for its Support, their great Care therein, and necessary Reparations made from time to time, have, in spite of so many Changes, preserved this Superb Remain of ancient Skill and Grandeur. At the same time we fervently exhort Posterity to continue always the same Care for its Preservation, as those who have liv'd before them have done. Above all, a very watchful Eye must be kept in freeing it from the Damage which frequently ensues, if People should be permitted to live within it. Our Community

therefore wiſely rents out thoſe Places which otherwiſe would be uſeleſs, and the Money thereof is exceedingly well appropriated when Occaſion ſerves, for the Support of the *Arena* itſelf, as being the Product of its own Vitals. But the places I've juſt now mentioned would, I think, be always well beſtowed, if rented out to thoſe who keep Magazines of Wood or Hay, or Merchandize or Stables, and ſuch kinds of Uſes, which don't require Families to live in them; or if any Family ſhould be allow'd to live within it, ſevere Penalties ſhould be enacted againſt thoſe who ſhould damage its Walls, or make Holes therein; or build new ones within it, ſince that would deform the whole Fabric, nor even to practiſe any Handicraft Work that may ſpoil or abuſe it in any manner whatever. Thoſe indeed are for the moſt part the only *Goths* and *Vandals*, who in a barbarous manner endeavour to bore Holes through it, or with hard Labour to break thoſe Walls conſecrated by the Duration of ſo many Ages; nor is it leſs criminal in thoſe who in various ways transform and dab over thoſe parts of the Building which afford ſo much Inſtruction to thoſe who underſtand them aright.

CHAP.

Enclosure of the Theatre of Pola. *Plate XIV.*



CHAP. XVI.

This Treatise is here ended, by giving an Account of the Theatre of Pola, *which till now has been taken for an Amphitheatre.*

NOtwithstanding at first I intended to give but a summary Description of our *Arena*, in order to serve for another Work, yet led by the pleasure of new Discoveries, I found my self by little and little engag'd to treat fully about Amphitheatres in general. Accordingly I determined to take a Journey to *Pola* in *Istria*, about the famous Amphitheatre of which City, I had received very different Accounts; but having, because of the Winter Season, and other Affairs of my own, been hindred some Months from passing over to that Country, which from *Venice* is no more than one hundred *French* Miles, I arrived there at last, after my Treatise was finished; but found my self obliged to cancel and alter that which, relying on the Faith of Books, and Accounts given me thereof from others, I had formerly wrote.

Pola, the last City of *Italy*, on this side the *Arsa* [where *Istria* runs further out into the *Adriatic*] is so happily situated, that

'tis no wonder if formerly it has been a large and opulent Place, as the Antiquities there remaining clearly evince. The Situation at *Pola* is exactly like that of *la Spezie* in the *Lunigiana*, at the Top of a large Inlet or Arm of the Sea, capable of containing not only one, but even several Fleets. This Inlet of the Sea is formed by the Continent on the right, and an Isthmus on the left hand, serving as an incomparable and safe Harbour for sheltering against any kind of Wind whatever. The Mouth thereof is towards the West, and is little more than half a Mile in Breadth, and can be on either side safely defended against any Enemy whatever. It is fenced from the Injury of Winds by the Promontory of an Island, or rather a long Rock called *Brioni*; which still continuing under Water, covers it wholly. The Bottom is very good anchoring Ground, and the Water deep enough to float any Man of War. Galleys and large Ships lie so very near to the Shore, that in many places they may lay a Plank over, and load and unload with great Ease. The Distance from the Mouth of the Inlet of the Sea to the City, is about one League. Within it are three small Islands lying athwart, in one of which called St. *Andrea*, by placing a Fort, great Ships can be easily hindred from passing forward, which Ships in going inward have only one Channel to pass thro' betwixt it, and another

another called *San Pietro*. Beſides, there is a Slip of Land, or rather a ſmall *Peninſula* which fences it anew on one ſide; and more inwardly, near the City, there is another Iſland covered with thick Woods and Olive-Trees. The Sea from one part to the other widens, and goes far in on the right hand of the City; here, between it and the *Arena*, at a ſmall Diſtance from the Sea, there is a plentiful Spring of excellent Water, about which they have built a Semicircle of ſmall Steps wrought much after the ancient Manner. In the Country all around the City, there are a great many riſing Grounds, of which thoſe they have cultivated are very fertile, and full of medicinal and odoriferous Herbs. We find in the Epiſtles of *Caſſiodorus*, that not only Oil and Wine, but a great Quantity of Grain in time of need was brought from *Iſtria* to *Ravenna*. Fiſh are here in great plenty. In fine, the Country wants nothing but People and Trade.

The famous Remains of ſumptuous Buildings, which were the Workmanſhip of thoſe Ages wherein Arts flouriſhed, and found no where elſe in *Iſtria*, nor in the contiguous Parts but at *Pola*, ſhew for certain, that this City has been the Metropolis of that Diſtrict; and on account of its Spendour and Riches, we may believe, that in the higher Ages it has been held in the ſame Rank of Grandeur, as *Aquileia* was in the lower, ſituated in the Country

Country of the *Carni*, and ſuppoſed afterwards to be the leſſer *Venice* contiguous to *Iſtria*. The Medals dug up in the Diſtrict of *Pola*, are almoſt all of the firſt Emperors. The Opportunity they had of its Harbour, incited them perhaps at firſt to make it the Staple-Port for Merchandize of the Eaſt, which afterwards was removed to *Aquileia*. As to its Antiquity, we have an Evidence thereof from the current Report that was about it in the time of *Mela* and *Strabo*, of its being founded by the *Colchi*. That it was a ſplendid City in the firſt Years of the *Roman* Empire, and ſuperior to the others in its Neighbourhood, appears by a Colony having been eſtabliſhed there, either by *Cæſar* or *Auguſtus*, honoured and diſtinguiſhed beſides, by one of theſe Emperors with the Name of *Pietas Julia*, as we learn from [1] *Pliny*. *Cæſar* probably may have made it a Colony, ſince *Iſtria* and *Dalmatia*, together with the two *Galliæ*, were the Provinces allotted him; ſo that he ſurely has been at *Pola*, for we know he went into *Illyricum* to hold the judicial Aſſemblies, as Governour thereof. Notwithſtanding all this, the ſettling a Colony there may with more Probability be attributed to *Auguſtus*, who eſtabliſhed 28 Colonies in different parts of *Italy*, beſides the giving the Name of *Julia* to Cities, was more frequently practiſed by him than by

[1] *Plin. l.* 3. *c.* 19.

Cæsar. Another Reason appears by the Temple which still subsists within that City, consecrated to the Goddess *Roma* and *Augustus*, and seems to have been built by the Citizens, as a noble Memorial of their Gratitude for the Benefits they may have received from *Augustus*. And might we not suspect that the Name *Pola* [which seems Latin] might not have been assumed by that City, leaving their old one on account of some important Concession made by, or Advantage sought from *Pola* Sister of *Agrippa*, and for the famous Buildings erected by her, as they are mentioned by [2] *Dio?*

As to Antiquity, I know no City that can boast of having Remains subsisting more noble, large, or so entire as that of *Pola*. The first Author that I find who has spoke of it, is *Peter Martir* of *Anghiera*, a *Milaneze*, sent to *Venice* in Quality of Ambassador from *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* King and Queen of *Spain*, and to the Sultan of *Babylon* in the Year 1501. This Gentleman wrote an Account of his own Voyage, in which he tells us, that he went from *Venice* to *Pola*; into the Harbour of the latter he arrived with his Galleys, there he observed *two ancient Theatres*, and an Arch with Inscriptions, and many Stones with various Readings on them, about forty of which he transcribed and gave an Account of. The next Author after him, who

[2] *Lib.* 55. Πωλα-ἡ ἀδελφή αυτȣ̃.

has

has ſpoke of *Pola*, is the moſt excellent Architect *Serlio*, who in his third Book has treated of the Theatre, Amphitheatre, and Arch there, and has given Plans, Views, and the Parts thereof. *Juſtus Lipſius* copied after him the Plan of what they believed to be an Amphitheatre, and *Palladio* repreſented two ancient Temples at *Pola*. In the laſt Age, *Antonio de Ville*, an Engineer, who built the Fort which is there at preſent, and has wrote about Fortification, publiſhed an Account of this Place, in which he gave a Draught of an Arch, a Temple, and a Sketch of the *Arena*, tho' in a very clumſey manner, and very ill drawn. At preſent the Arch remains entire, as does likewiſe the foreſaid Temple, and the other near it, which very much reſembles it, the back part thereof joining cloſe to it; nor can I ſay in what other place are Capitals, Corniſhes, and *Corinthian* Freezes of ſuch delicate Sculpture to be found, or in ſuch plenty, or ſo well preſerved. The Prints which have been engraven thereof, ſerve only to ſhew theſe things entirely different from what they are. Of the Inſcriptions I have only found five exiſting, many others having been cruelly deſtroyed, and indeed but lately; ſince a certain new Building was erected at this Place, as if there had been a Scarcity of Stones in that Country.

I heard in *Venice*, that ſome have deſired the *Arena* of *Pola* might be tranſported thither in the manner I mentioned, when I had occaſion to ſpeak of tranſporting the Arch of *Suſa* to *Turin*; but ſuch a great Undertaking as that of the Amphitheatre, I cannot adviſe ſhould be attempted, for ſeveral Reaſons, tho' I ſhall be bold to ſay, that I think it very practicable to tranſport the Arch there, and likewiſe the beſt preſerved of the ſmall Temples; ſince thoſe few who live there, and for the moſt part are Strangers, have no manner of Taſte for ſuch things. By this a moſt uſeful School for Architecture might be ſet on foot, and every one learn in what manner the *Corinthian* ought really to be wrought, being ſufficient to ſhew how much more beautiful and graceful the Works of the Ancients are, and how much better conducted than ſome of our modern Performances, ſo full of Extravagancies, or rather Folly. But ſince there are ſome who think the tranſporting ſuch Buildings impoſſible, I ſhall at preſent add the Manner practiſed therein by the *Romans* in their moſt noble publick Buildings, as I have elſewhere deſcrib'd, to whom it neither was unknown, nor deemed impracticable; I mean, to tranſport Buildings from one place to another: of which *Spartianus* gives an Evidence, where he ſays, that *Hadrian*, beſides the

the many Edifices he had erected [3] *transported the Manſion or Temple of the* Dea Bona *and the* Coloſſus, *which ſtood on foot and ſuſpended.* It was a wonder indeed, how they could tranſport the *Coloſſus* erected, and yet the very Name of the Architect who was called *Detrianus* is mentioned by the Hiſtorian. But there was no wonder at all in tranſporting the Temple, ſince its Walls were not made of *Cotto* or rough Stones, but of great ones join'd to one another, without any kind of Cement, as thoſe of the Temples exactly are, being exceedingly broad, tho' not above a Foot in Thickneſs, ſo that they may be removed and put together again with very great Eaſe. *Caſaubon*, who ſurely has never taken notice of ancient Buildings, could not conceive the manner of tranſporting the foreſaid Temple; accordingly in his Notes on *Spartianus* he ſays, that there it muſt be underſtood, that another new Temple was made. But it was much more difficult to tranſport a very fine Picture ſhut up within Boards from *Sparta* to *Rome*, and placed upon a Wall, which after the *Grecian* Cuſtom was made of Brick, and which according to [4] *Pliny*'s Teſtimony was done, cutting it off without breaking the Surface; which Method of taking off Pictures from a

[3] *Ædem bonæ deæ tranſtulit, & Coloſſum ſtantem atque ſuſpenſum.* [4] *Lib.* 35. *cap.* 14.

Wall,

Wall, is performed at preſent in *Venice* by one who has often practiſed it with ſucceſs.

Above all the other Antiquities of *Pola*, a Theatre was moſt celebrated by *Serlio*; of which, as Misfortune would have it, ſcarce is there one Remain left; the above-mentioned *de Ville* having cruelly deſtroyed the Parts which were remaining, razing the Building from the Foundation, in order to make uſe of the Stones to build his own exceeding ſhort Courtains, and the four Baſtions of the little Fort there, which is not placed on one ſide of the Tower, but on a ſmall Rock in the middle. So that out of thoſe magnificent Materials, nothing, according to Art, has been produced on his part. And it would ſeem, that he thought on nothing, but the Pleaſure of making uſe of theſe ſo very large and noble Pieces of Marble at any rate. However, in order to palliate in ſome meaſure his Brutality, in having deſtroyed ſuch a ſuperb Remain of ancient Grandeur, he invented a Fable which never before was heard in thoſe parts; namely, that there had been an Irruption of Fire, which, ſome Years before, had blown up a great part of that Building. This Structure was ſituated not far from the Walls of the Town, at the Foot of a little Riſing-ground, on the left-hand of the City, towards the Sea, and was called *Zaro*; which word, in the middle Ages, was corrupted from the word

word *Theatre*, ſince the *Greek Theta*, on account of the Pronunciation at that time, was changed into a *Zeta:* So that from Θήκα they have made it *Zecca*; hence, by the popular way of ſpeaking, they have robbed it of two Letters, and made it *Zaro*. In *Latine* it was wrote *Zadrium* and *Jadrum*; this I learn from a written Record of the Year 1303, inſerted in a large Volume, which I keep among my Manuſcripts, and which contains an ample Collection of famous *Venetian* Records. In that ſame MS. there is an account of the Juriſdictions which the Patriarch of *Aquileia* held in *Iſtria*, when mention is made of *Pola*; the words are, *Et habet ibi duo antiqua Palatia, ſcilicet, Jadrum, & Harenam, & Palatium unum in Platea Civitatis, & quaſdam alias Domos; & quicumque accipit aliquem Lapidem de dictis Palatiis Jadri, & Harenæ, pro quolibet lapide quem accipit ſolvit Domino Patriarchæ Byzantios centum.* This is a curious Account and Circumſtance, ſhewing, that in the very dark Ages, they had even a much greater Veneration for the Monuments of Antiquity, than what we find in times when Erudition is more in vogue; there having been then the no ſmall Penalty inflicted of a hundred Pieces on any that ſhould rob the Theatres of *Pola* of ſo much as one ſingle Stone, in order to apply it to other uſes. Which, indeed, has been

been but too much practiſed every where, and from which the fatal Ruin of Antiquity has enſued, much more than from the Irruptions of the *Barbarians*, or Time itſelf. *Serlio* beſtows great Encomiums on the Remains of the Theatre already mentioned, affirming, that the ingenious Architect thereof had made choice of the Mount whereon it was placed, for placing part of the Steps, as was practiſed in building other Theatres. The *Orcheſtra* was made in the level part of the Area, as were the Scene and the other Buildings thereunto belonging. Beſides, he gave us to underſtand, that it was of the *Corinthian* Order, and exceedingly rich as to its Workmanſhip and Stone, with a great number of Pillars and double Stairs, with Ornaments of Gates and Windows, both within and without. Several wrought Pieces remain near the Fort, which have not been made uſe of: I have obſerved that of the few which do remain, ſome are of *Grecian* Marble, whereas all the other Antiquities there, are of Marble of the Country round about *Pola*.

On the other ſide of the City, at a ſmall Diſtance, and no more than perhaps the length of 200 Pearches of Ground from the Sea-ſide, ſtands the Arena, as it was called in the middle Ages. There is nothing beſides the external Circuit to be ſeen at preſent; nor, indeed, could more have been

ſeen at any time, becauſe the inner parts were of Wood; but the Building in general is a Miracle, for being ſo well preſerved, ſince throughout the whole Circuit, from top to bottom, there is nothing wanting except about two Arms length in the upper Story. As the Drawing I have given thereof ſhews when it was begun to be deſtroy'd by another ſhallow-brain'd Ingineer, in order likewiſe to make uſe of the Stones for his own Schemes; but a ſtop was immediately put to that, being a piece of Barbarity ſtill the more execrable, when we conſider that the Country abounds with nothing ſo much as Stone. The deſtroying theſe things of Antiquity is, however, ſo much contrary to the Inclination of the Community, that in the common Inſtructions given to the Governours of *Pola*, the Legiſlature has enjoin'd them to preſerve the Antiquities there carefully. In effect, ſince theſe things have happened, it is not long ſince, with an admirable Care, the Government has cauſed ſeveral Vineyards to be removed, which, from the ſide of the Mount, without any intermediate Space, had been brought as far as the Pilaſters of this Building. Beſides what has been already mentioned, the arched Roof of one of the principal Gates is wanting, and ſome Stones of the contiguous Row of Pilaſters of the ſecond Story towards the bottom; where, by one only Stone remaining

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in the middle, and not broader than two Feet ſix Inches, the whole Weight above has been ſince ſupported; having another above it, which is not imbedded, except for about the breadth of eight Inches, and is ſtill hanging out of the Building about the length of three Feet. Likewiſe there is a conſiderable part of that Bench [if we may call it ſo] which runs round the top of the Building, wanting: This excepted, the whole Circuit is entire; and here only may we enjoy the incredible and inexplicable fine Effect it has to the Eye; and as much on the outſide as on the inner, we behold ſuch a ſumptuous Circuit, with all its Apertures, and in its full height, no ways prejudiced at the bottom by any Rubbiſh brought thither from other places, which at *Rome* and *Verona* covers a conſiderable part of theſe Buildings. The Beauty of its Appearance is encreaſed very much by the Whiteneſs of the Stones, and the Preſervation thereof the more admirable, in proportion as the whole Circuit is iſolated, and not joined in the inner-ſide by any Wall that knits it together. But now 'tis time to ſhew that which at firſt will appear very ſtrange, namely, that the Edifice of *Pola* [notwithſtanding it is ſhut up all around, and has exactly the ſame number of Arches with that of the Amphitheatre of *Verona*] is, however, no Amphitheatre at all.

At first, when at Sea, I beheld this majestick and wonderful Pile, according to that Prospect of it which I have shewn in the Copper-plate. Scarcely had I greedily fixed my Eyes thereon, than I told those who had come in company with me, that I suspected it to be a Theatre only. Two Motives immediately induced me to think so; one, that at that Distance the Building appeared different from the oval Figure of Amphitheatres elsewhere: that Passage of *Pausanias* occuring to my Mind, which I have quoted in the first Book, namely, that *Trajan* built *a large Theatre, circular in every part thereof.* The other was, that the two Turrets I saw on the outside thereof, which in no ways could belong to an Amphitheatre; at the same time I remember'd, that in some of the Theatres in *Candia*, delineated by *Honorio Belli*, some such like Appendages appear, which he calls Counterforts; tho', by not finding them entire, and by having, perhaps, adapted his Plans to the common Idea of Theatres, he places and considers them in a different manner. But all doubt about this was at an end, after I had set my Foot within its superb Enclosure, since I saw one side of it built on the Declivity of a piece of ground, with a Slope, the foot of which comes to be comprised within it, in order and form for having the Steps placed thereon. Its Declivity shews exellently well, the Gradation

tion of these Steps, as the Curvature does their Semicircular Form, which filled little less than half of the Space broad-ways. Lower down, there still remains the Passage or Floor of the *Podium*, which is very well distinguished by the little Rising-ground seen there. 'Tis known how the Ancients, in the building their Theatres, made use of such an advantageous Situation, where-ever they could have it, saving by the Slope of the Ground, the Expence of having Portico's and Vaults, which otherwise were necessary for supporting the Steps. Besides, on the same side where the Slope was, they saved a great part of the Building of the external Circuit too. However, in this, where the Front towards the Sea has three Stories, nay, a little further, there is a small Basement of about three or four Feet in Dimension, under the lower Pilasters on the outside, which serves to supply the Ground which turns to slope. The part towards the Mount has only two Stories, as may be seen by the Draught. Beyond the two principal Gates that are at the two Points of the Extremities, length-ways, the Mount begins to rise and the lowermost Pilasters to lose themselves, where, at the third they are quite lost. They commonly believe in that Country, that they appear so by being hid under-ground; and some, in order to be sure of that, have dug, but they have found that which the Continuation of the Rising-

ground might have made plain to them, namely, that, the Foundation excepted, no part of the Building there is hid. The Ground accordingly, in that place proceeds inwardly into the Field or Area, in a ſemicircular Form, ſloping; where, in the oppoſite part, the three Stories are ſeen entire and uncovered. This is ſufficient for giving us to underſtand for certain, that the whole Fabrick was only a Theatre.

But the Ground, from the ſide oppoſite to the Stairs, affords a Proof no leſs certain for confirming what has been ſaid, becauſe here it riſes about three Feet; as much as was fit for placing a Stage for the Actors, a plain Area remaining in the middle very fit for the *Orcheſtra* of a Theatre, tho' not ſufficient for that of an Amphitheatre. The Mark of a Wall is obſervable in ſeveral Places, for which reaſon I cauſed them to dig here and there, to ſee if it was poſſible to make out the Form of the Scene; nay, I'm certain, ſome People would unqueſtionably place it here, and deſcribe it accordingly: but, for my own part, I never can be induced to amuſe myſelf with Imagination only, or to repreſent what I do not ſee; I ſhall therefore ſay candidly, that from the few and uncertain Foundations and Veſtiges of the Building diſcovered by me, I was not able to come at the true Form of the Scene. Inaſmuch therefore as I was in doubt about this,

this, I was equally confirmed in the Opinion, that the whole was a Theatre, but not an Amphitheatre; becauſe I found a piece of a Wall in a ſtreight Line fronting the Spectators, which never could have been in an Amphitheatre, nor the under Part of the Row of Pilaſters in that Situation, becauſe they never could have ſerved for ſupporting circular Steps and Vaults, which muſt have gone round the whole. The Walls, however, which I obſerved, could ſerve for nothing but a Foundation, and muſt have been at leaſt but very little raiſed above ground; for it appears plain by ſeveral Marks, that what was for the moſt part built up within this Fabric, was of Wood, tho' it likewiſe ſeems evident that here and there it was otherwiſe, ſince from the part of the Auditory on the Deſcent of the Wall, hollowed Stones are very frequently ſeen for receiving the ends of the Beams within them, which going croſs, ſupported the Floor of the higher Lodge: Theſe Hollows or Mortiſes in [s] *Vitruvius*'s time, were by the *Latins* called *Columbarii*, and by the *Greeks*, *Beds for the Beams*; but the like is not to be ſeen on the part where the Scene is.

Being confirmed in the Opinion that this Building was a Theatre, I began to think what the Uſe of the external Appendages or Turrets may have been, ſince they never

[s] *Vitruv. l. 4. cap. 2.*

could have belong'd to an Amphitheatre. *Serlio* calls them *Contraforti*, and ſuppoſes them made in order not to leave the Wall quite abandoned; but he never ſaw them himſelf, [as I ſhall quickly make evident] and accordingly did not repreſent them but only by a Plan mark'd out with three Pilaſters, by which no Mortal could imagine what kind of an Elevation they may have had: That they were not by way of Buttreſſes, is manifeſt by their Form; becauſe they are plac'd above the Arches, and iſolated Pilaſters, like the reſt; and becauſe they could have ſerved to little purpoſe in ſo ample a Round.

Having my ſelf ſeen them entire, and preſerved, has given me ſo much Light into the Matter, as I think is ſufficient for knowing their Uſe. You may therefore obſerve in the laſt Plate of all at the Letter D, where the inner View of them is ſeen, that the ſaid interior Proſpect of them in the upper Orders repreſents here and there a Houſe conſiſting of two Stories, with two Entries, and as many Windows in every one of them. So that I am perſuaded they belong'd to a part of the comic Scene repreſenting Manſions, which may, in the Dramatic Performances, have been variouſly made uſe of. In effect, there was no Way on the outſide to get up to theſe Rooms, nor are there any Remains of Stairs on the inner ſide, but rather of Stages and

and Floorings. That the repreſenting *private Buildings with Windows* was part of the comic Scene, [6] *Vitruvius* informs us.

Among the other Parts belonging to the Theatre, [7] *Pollux* reckons *the Houſe with two Stories in it*; we cannot wiſh for a better Confirmation of what is juſt now mentioned: For afterwards he ſays, from it the old Women and the Panders uſed to look down, and peep about them. From thoſe high Proſpects ſome uſe or another may have been made in the tragic Scene too, and when there was Occaſion they may have made the Spectators ſee through the two Gates or Apertures, which [8] *Vitruvius* ſays were *on the right and left*, and ſerved for thoſe Perſonages introduced in the Drama, as repreſenting Foreigners, to come out on the Stage, ſince the middle part was filled up with the Royal Gates, and the Train belonging to the Court. Perhaps thoſe two lateral Paſſages were thoſe called παρασκήνια ſpoke of by *Pollux*, and ſurely not well underſtood by *Perault*, when he ſays they are the ſame with the *Retro-ſcena*. We likewiſe read in *Pollux*, that in the Tragedies the Houſe with the two Stories repreſented ſometimes two Parlors, or high Places like Towers, from whence they could ſee at a diſtance; and

[6] *L. 5. c. 8. Feneſtris diſpoſitis imitatione communium ædificiorum.* [7] *Pol. l. 4. cap. 19.* Δυσεγία.
[8] *L. 5. c. 7. Dextra ac ſiniſtra Hoſpitalia.*

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we read that the Gate on the right Hand [by which Name I understand the Apertures of the Front] was the Habitation of those who acted the [9] second Part, not the second Act, as it is rendered in *Latin*. It was common in both the *Latin* and *Greek* Theatres to represent the Scene, from nothing else but one single Partition Wall or Front of a Building with three Doors, which *Perault* shews to be filled up, and almost shut by the painted Machines, and other Things which turned on Pivots, by which Form it would very ill agree with that which I have been conjecturing concerning Houses represented at a distance in the Theatre of *Pola*; but neither in that manner, nor without the Point in Perspective could the Scene ever be, nor is it possible to account for every thing exactly, since we may be persuaded that notwithstanding the many Drawings we have of modern Masters, of those parts of the Theatre which serv'd for Representation; that Affair is, however, still left very much in the dark. I shall add here, that in the Circuit of the Theatre of *Pola*, these two small Houses afford a very agreeable Prospect, being plac'd in the Situation of the Auditory; for the exterior Windows corresponded to the inner Doors closed by Stone curiously perforated and made like Flower-work, which by the

[9] Τὸ δεύτερα ἀγωνιστοῦ καταναίον.

Clearness

Clearneſs of the Air ſhining through it, delights the Eye on either ſide wonderfully.

This, if I miſtake not, is, I think, the End and Deſign of ſuch Appendages having been made to the Building; and here the Manner of the Windows of the Ancients is learned, and a Piece of the *Greek* Scene diſcovered, never delineated hitherto but in Imagination; and here we have the Intention of thoſe three Pilaſters marked out in four different Places by *Serlio* in his Plan of the Building of *Pola*, and by *Belli* in ſome of theſe in *Candia*: And here above all, do we come to underſtand a-new that Theatres were made in two different Manners, one after the common Method, with a ſemicircular Contour on one ſide, and ſquare on the other; and another, never before known, with an Incloſure ſhut up, and an entire Circumference, after the manner of an Amphitheatre. There is no Inconſiſtency however in finding a Theatre in that Form, it being of no conſequence that the Portico or covered Place [which *Vitruvius* ſays they made behind the *Scena* as a Shelter againſt any ſudden Rain which might happen to fall] was in a ſtreight Line, or in a Curve; nay, [10] *Iſidorus* was of opinion, that all Theatres *were at firſt of a round Form like the Amphitheatres*, and the foreſaid *Retro Portico* might very well have been placed from the Space

[10] *Orig. l.* 18. *cap.* 42.

of

of the thirteen Arches which are in the Building at *Pola* between both the little Houſes. At preſent we may underſtand that Paſſage of *Pauſanias*, which without this could never have been explained; namely, that *Trajan* had built *a great Theatre circular in every part:* circular muſt here be underſtood in a popular, not a mathematical Senſe. The Drawing I exhibit here, ſhews what this Theatre was, and gives us to underſtand that tho' of a curved Form, and ſhut up in every part, it was however not an Amphitheatre; ſo that it was even by *Spartianus* called a Theatre. *Pauſanias* by taking notice of the foreſaid Particular of its Roundneſs, ſhews that ſuch a Form was not common to every Theatre; and his ſaying that it was a large Theatre, indicates that the Theatres built in that manner, were more ſumptuous than the others. *Belli* having found in *Candia* ſeveral Theatres not unlike this, gives us to underſtand that this was the *Greek* manner of building them; however perhaps *Hadrian* may have cauſed it to be demoliſhed, becauſe therein he did not care to deviate from the *Roman* Cuſtom. For which Reaſon this of *Pola* may have been built after the *Greek* manner, as not being remote from the Country of *Greece*, as indeed the Manner ſeen in all the other pieces of Antiquity in that Place, ſeem to indicate that they were made by *Grecian* Architects.

Great

Great Objections may be made by many againſt all I have ſaid on this Head, ſince they find that *Serlio,* who treats about this Building, has in his whole Plan thereof, repreſented it as an Amphitheatre; but I may very well ſay, that wretched Antiquity always has had this Misfortune attending it, namely, that the repreſenting to Readers the Dreams and Imaginations of Authors as Truth and Fact, have never been eſteemed by the World to be Cheats and Impoſtures. On the other hand, in [9] *Montfaucon*'s Book of *Antiquities*, 'tis ſaid, that the Fabric of *Pola* had but ſix Steps within it, but larger than in other ſuch Buildings; which ridiculous Thought [whether underſtood of a Theatre or Amphitheatre] makes me at a loſs to imagine where he pick'd it up. *Serlio,* I own, was in general very faithful in his Accounts of things, tho' I muſt ſay he went out of the way, and was miſled in what he related about *Pola*; for he never was there himſelf, but probably ſent ſome young Man or other of his Acquaintance to ſurvey them, who has ſurely ſerved him very ill in that matter. That he never was there himſelf, I argue, in the firſt place, from his own Drawings, and from his having ſaid, that *the Arena was ſituated in the middle of the City*, ſince it certainly is at a good diſtance from it; and when he aſſerts that the Corniſhes *are better underſtood, and of a finer*

[9] *Tom.* 3. *p.* 233.

Taſte

Taſte than in the Amphitheatre of *Rome*. So being himſelf perſuaded into the Belief by the entire Circumference of the Building, that it was an Amphitheatre, he figur'd out, on the inner ſide of the Building, Parts in imitation of thoſe within the Amphitheatre of *Verona*, tho' of all this there is not the leaſt Mark remaining. Others likewiſe may perhaps with very great difficulty be induced to believe it to have been a Theatre, for having heard that there was another Theatre at *Pola*. But in the firſt place, we learn from the written Text of *Honorio Belli*, that there were not few Cities which had more Theatres than one within them. And 2*dly*, ſince I myſelf have ſeen it, I have with no ſmall Probability been able to diſcover. that the other Building in *Pola* [tho' deſcribed as a Theatre, and accordingly delineated as ſuch by *Serlio*, and called ſo in the dark Ages, when ſuch Names were given at random] was in effect no Theatre at all, but a magnificent Palace. And as the Remembrance of a Palace there is ſtill preſerved in that Country, and as ſuch it appeared to *de Ville*; neither do the Remains thereof which I found, indicate it to have been a Theatre. It was placed under a riſing Ground, but the lower part cut and levelled in two places, and has never been conſidered as a Theatre. The four large Pillars of *Grecian* Marble which are ſeen on the ſide of the great Altar

Plate XV.

in the Church *della Salute*, and tranſported there from the forementioned Building, I cannot conceive where they could have had a proper place in a Theatre. The Queſtion may be asked of me, that allowing ſuch to have been the uſe of theſe two Turrets that are deſcribed towards the *Scena*; for what purpoſe could the other two over againſt thoſe already deſcribed have been made? But it is well known on one hand, that becauſe of the Beauty of Agreement in Fabrics, ſeveral things are often made which ſerve for Appearance only; and it is evident on the other hand, that of theſe ſmall Rooms which joined with the higher Lodges, various uſes may have been made for the Convenience of the Spectators. It is likewiſe obſervable, that thoſe on the other ſide are not complete, but want the Floor in the middle.

In order therefore to give ſome preciſe Account of this ſo very noble an Encloſure, we think fit to acquaint the Reader, that the greateſt length thereof, from one Gate to the other, is 370 *Venetian* Feet, its Breadth 300, the total Circuit amounts to 1110. The *Venetian* Foot is ſomething more than the eighth part of an Inch larger than that of *Verona*. The Height of the Building on the ſide towards the Sea, is eighty ſix Feet, including the ſix allowed for the Baſement at the foot, and about other five for the Bench or Out-jutting, which is above the higheſt

higheſt Ridge of the Building. The number of the Arches round the whole Fabric are 72, the ſame as that of *Verona*; tho' for all that, the Bulk of it is not the ſame, the Breadth of the Pilaſters and Apertures being leſs in that of *Pola*. The Diſpoſition of them are thus: The great Gate at the End of the Oval has nine Arches on each ſide, hence two on each hand are doubled on the Out-ſide, and ſupport the two Towers or Houſes; next follow 13 Arches in the two middle parts of the Building broadways, then other two with the Turrets, then other nine on each ſide, and the Gate correſponding. The Work is ruſtic made with Knobs or Protuberances, by ſome called *Sbozzi*, without being ſmoothed, or of a regular Bigneſs one with another, in the Meaſures of the different pieces, exactly like thoſe of *Verona*, tho' the Whiteneſs of the Stone, [the Quarry out of which they were taken, I was directed to ſee three Miles diſtant from the Place] cauſed the Building at *Pola* to appear much more beautiful and genteel than the *Veroneſe* Amphitheatre. As to the Order of the Architecture, ſome would call it *Doric*, others *Tuſcan*; the ruſtic Work would incline us to believe it ſuch; but of this we ſhall ſpeak very ſoon: However, below, the Parts are arbitrary; and above, ſo very different and plain, that no Order can poſitively be determined therein. Some Architects have in a certain

certain manner in their Books on that Art, have introduced an Order different from thoſe which are common, calling the Buildings which are covered with ſuch Protuberances as are above mentioned, the ruſtic Order: This Incloſure confirms ſuch an Opinion, ſhewing indeed a Manner very different from that of the other claſſick Orders. There has been no Cement or Mortar made uſe of in this Building, but the Stones bound together with their common Links of Iron leaded, which for the moſt part, both within, and on the Out-ſide of the Building, have been taken away and carried off: So that throughout the whole, the common Holes ſeen in other ſuch Buildings are perceived. In Plate XV. A. ſhews the Perſpective View of the Building, B. the External of the Turrets, C. the Internal, and their Sides, as likewiſe the Profile of the Wall of the Incloſure, with its Ridge; D. ſhews the Architectonic Parts of the firſt Story, E. the ſecond, F. the third, and what is at the Top.

The lower Pilaſters are ſquare, and little leſs than five Feet in Thickneſs. The Apertures for the Admiſſion of Light, are about the Dimenſion of 10 Feet each; or if you will from nine Feet ſix, to ten Feet ſix, becauſe they vary conſiderably as they do in all the like kind of Buildings. The two largeſt Gates have the Arches ſomewhat higher than the others; their Apertures are about 15 Feet.

Their arched Roofs have likewise the Stones smoothed, and the three in the middle on the inner-side project half a Foot. The Height of the Pilasters from the Floor to their Capitals, or if you will, to the Impost, is about ten Feet six Inches. The Impost is one Foot six Inches high, and was ten Inches of Projection. There are no Numbers carved on the Arches as were necessary in Amphitheatres, and as are seen in those of *Verona* and *Rome*. On the side towards the Sea, the Pedestal or Under-Pilaster, which, with excellent Contrivance and Skill has been placed at the foot of the Building, in order to supply the Sinking which the Ground makes in the Declivity, rises in all five Feet six Inches, having above it a large Basement, upon which there is the Pilaster; which Basement on the outside, has a Cornish with its Members, representing the Capital of the Pilaster below, on the Inner-side that Space is filled up by the Ground which there is higher than the rest.

The Arch, from the Pavement to the Key-Stone, is 17 Feet 4, the arched Vault or Roof is 2 Feet 2 Inches; the rough *Fasciæ*, which supply the Architrave and Freeze, are each of them something less than 2 Feet: The Cornish is little more than two Feet, and projects about one and a half. In the middle of the Pilaster is the plain Pillar which fences the Impost, and with its Capital rises 1 Foot 5; and on the outside

outside 6 Inches, in order to support the Architrave. But we must remark, that the Impost is so deeply cut, because of its great Projection, that it is somewhat disagreeable to the Eye; which Particular we don't observe in that of *Verona*.

In the second Story the Pilasters are 4 Feet 4 thick, the Height of the Arch 19 and 2 Inches; from which, by considering its Conformity with the lower Story, we may judge what the other Measures have been. The Cornish, that is, the Impost intersected here by the plain Pillar, projects further than it about seven Inches, and more than the Roof of the higher Arch, nine Inches.

In the third Story, instead of Arches, the like number of Windows go round, each of them 5 Feet 8 Inches broad, and 7 Feet 8 high; from the Cornish below to the Window 4 Feet, and from the Window upward near to seven. But this part seems to be of a new Contrivance, because first, there is a Row of Stones which serve for a Traverse above the Windows; then there is a small and low Cornish, which appears out of all order and use; then two high and rough *Fasciæ*; next, a Ridge, which is in place of a great Cornish, insomuch, that whereas commonly the Ornament encreases by rising, here it diminishes, since the Cornish of the lower Story has nine Members, among which, almost in the middle, there is a Listel, or flat Stone, by way of a Selvidge, with a Water-Spout which seems

to divide it into two parts, being above three Inches high. The Corniſh of the ſecond Story has four Members only, being filled up with a *Guſcio*, little leſs than the half in Dimenſion; but at the top there is indeed no Corniſh, but only a Ridge, the Projection of which is ſomewhat hid by the Degradation which the Wall has in the third Story. This Ridge, hollowed above like a Channel, has below it a Liſt, ſcarcely ſeen, then a Convexity for about a Foot and a half; next, a Border, about half a Foot in Dimenſion, which at regular Diſtances has ſquare Holes within it, for diſcharging the Water, and in them there have been Pipes for throwing it off at a diſtance. Beſides, on the inner ſide, it comes out a Foot further than the Wall, to make the Appearance the more agreeable, and likewiſe to ſerve as a Counterballance. The Poſition and Manner with which the higher part is built, ſhew how very properly the Ancients term'd it *Corona*, and it looks ſomething like as if the Building was crowned at the top; which makes [1] *Vitruvius* the better underſtood, where he ſays, that at the top of the Walls, under the Tiles, the *Projectures of the* Coronæ *were placed*, in order to keep off the Water.

But what Water muſt this have been? That, ſurely, which fell upon the Roof of

[1] *Lib.* 2. *c.* 8.

the

the Lodges, which were placed on the Top of the *Auditorium*, and above the Roof of the higher Portico on the other ſide. How ſuch Water was caſt forth in the Amphitheatre, and what Courſe they made it take, none have conſidered; and we can give but an imperfect account thereof, ſince neither here nor at *Rome*, has the very top part of all been entirely preſerved. It is credible however, that it was by Pipes encloſed within the Partition-Walls, which may have led into the Conduits. For ſome pieces of Pipes of Metal have been found at *Verona*.

The finiſhing part of the Building of *Pola*, at the top, differs from that of any other Fabric whatever, ſince above the Hollow of the Ridge, in a perpendicular Line with the lowermoſt Pilaſters, certain ſmall Pedeſtals riſe, about two Feet in Dimenſion; above which, a ſmall Bench runs round, as may be ſeen in the Drawing; or, if you will, a Liſt, narrower than the Wall. The Stones of this are ſeen in two places hollowed ſquare, as if they were Conduits for Water; and for ſome Arms-length on one place you ſee, that above it, another has run which covered that one below. By obſerving this, I remembered that *Theatrical Water* mentioned by [2] *Symmachus*, of which none could ever find out the meaning. Perhaps ſometimes they made the Reſemblance of

[2] *Lib.* 4. *Ep.* 8.

Fountains or other Curioſities, by which it was neceſſary to have Water which ſhould deſcend from above. The Hollows which are ſeen betwixt the Windows, ſerved for Beams ſet on End, made to reſt within the like number of Dyes of Stone, about a Foot and four Inches ſquare. Theſe reſt on the Corniſh below, exactly like what we have already deſcribed at *Verona*, and remain eight Inches further within it: but their ſquare Hole is larger, and near the Wall, correſpondent with the Hollow thereof, and not in the middle, and iſolated like ours of the third Story, which ſerved for another uſe. The Beams then cut the little Corniſh above the Windows; hence they pierced the upper one, or, if you will, the Ridge, and ſerved for the *Velarium*.

On the inſide, the whole Wall is ſmooth, without Corniſhes, as being covered by the boarded Flooring; unleſs it was by the Impoſts of the Arches in the Ground-plot, which proceed likewiſe in the inſide. Thoſe of the ſecond are not found finiſhed any where, but above the Angles, the reſt being left rough and unpoliſhed. The Retiring of the Wall, which is viſible in its going up, is both towards the inner-ſide and the out-ſide too; inſomuch, that it proceeds by a Degradation above that Stone which forms the Architrave on the outſide, and more largely in the Degradation

gradation of the ſecond Story; ſo that the third is reduced to a ſmall Thickneſs. At the Top, the Holes already mentioned, as having the Corona or Crown on the External, has it likewiſe on the inſide, but without Projection; and it ſeems to have been appropriated for having Wood put into it. The internal part was certainly of Wood, there being no Marks of Vaults on the Degradation of the Wall, in which they may have been inlaid or impoſted; nor in any other place, of Walls which joined them. Nevertheleſs, at the Points of the Steps, and in ſome other places, there have been pieces of a Wall, or Pilaſters iſolated, in which the Beams muſt have been ſecured and laid.

There remains nothing but the Appendages of the inner Furniture, of which we have already treated ſufficiently.

The External part of them is that which is ſeen at the Letter B. and their Side is that at C. their Prominence is about ten Feet in Dimenſion. Between the one and the other of the double Pillars, there is an empty Space for about five Feet in Dimenſion, which forms Entries, and on the ſide of the higher Stories there are two Windows. In the middle Story, the Voids are ſhut up by a Partition-Wall, even to the Impoſts; on a level with that, there is a ſmall Corniſh. The two Half-moons are cloſed by Grates of white Stone, like little triangular Beams, which admit Air and

Light. In the upper Story there are four Windows, with Branches or Grates of Stone, bored artificially with a different kind of Work in thoſe of the middle, from the other two.

I ordered them to dig very deep before the great Gate towards the City, but found no Remains of any Veſtibul there, nor of any other Ornament that may have been there; nor any broken pieces of Pillars or Marble: So neither found we any Well like that at *Verona*; nor, indeed, was there need of any, ſince, by the Slope towards the Sea, it was very eaſy to carry off the Water. However, about two Feet from, and over-againſt the Auditorium, in a ſtrait Line, we found a Conduit under-ground, within which a Man can ſtand up erect. It is in ſome places covered with a Vault, in others with large Flags, but the lateral Walls have not the *Strata* of ſquare Stones, nor the fine Order or Magnificence as is in that of *Verona*; nor has it the Cement ſo very much hardned, nor mixed with Peebles, but brittle, like our modern Walls. Near this Conduit I found two others, leſſer in Size, which go ſtraight towards the Sea, which carried off the Rain-Water, the Dirt and other Soil, gathered within the Theatre. I would willingly have mentioned likewiſe the Remains believed to be of two Amphitheatres, ſeen in *Sicily*, if the diſtinct Information and Drawings of them [which ſome People there,

in a very genteel manner, have procured for me] had been come to my hands. I, however, read in the *Hiſtorical Memoirs* of the Abbot *Caruſo*, [who very civilly ſent me them when they were publiſhed by him] that of the Amphitheatre pretended to be at *Syracuſe*, *very few Remains are ſubſiſting*; which is as much as to ſay, they are obſcure and uncertain.

F I N I S.

APPENDIX.

CArdinal *Albani* has been often pleased to bestow Favours upon me, but more particularly at present, in sending a perfect Drawing of his most noble and rare Medalion delineated by his own Direction; it consists of two different kinds of Metals, is exceedingly well preserved, and the same I mentioned in the fifth Chapter of Book the first; and tho' I had finished the printing this Treatise when it came to my Hands, yet I was unwilling to neglect communicating an Account of it to the Republick of the Learned, but to give it a place in this Part of my Book, and in the best manner I could.

That

That Figure which is ſeen among the Spectators is very remarkable, and ſeems to denote the Emperor in a ſitting Poſture. That a Shadow as it were of this, appears alſo in a like Medalion of the great Duke [repreſented in the firſt Plate annexed to this Treatiſe, tho' not expreſs'd in my Drawing of it] I learn from *Spanheim*, who was in the right when he ſaid that one of the Beaſts repreſented thereon, was an Elephant, and it is indeed much better ſeen in this Medalion than in any other whatever; tho' we cannot perceive, as he aſſerted, that the Senators are in the *Orcheſtra*, of which we made mention already in its proper Place. The *Coloſſus* which ſtands on one ſide of the Building, has Rays around the Head, which ſeem to denote *Apollo*; but it gives us no room to believe it the *Coloſſus* of *Nero* changed into an *Apollo* by *Veſpaſian*, ſince *Commodus* had taken off the Head from it, and in its place put on his own. I obſerve here in a particular manner, that no Statues are ſeen around the Building, which confirms what I have already mentioned on that Particular; inſtead of them it would ſeem as if other Pillars were repreſented in the middle, and as if the View of the Building had been taken ſide-ways, repreſenting at the ſame time thoſe of the ſecond Rows of Arches, tho' the inner-ſide of the Fabric is ſhewn in Front. But with regard to Perſpective in thoſe times, any thing may be

imagined, and of which no certain Judgment can be made. In that Medalion of *Florence* with Statues on it, which was ſent me, *Spanheim* repreſents nothing at all of that kind in it, but makes the Voids of the Arches quite empty; neither in it is the Emperor ſhewn with a Shield; hence we cannot then perceive how he can be repreſented marching on Horſeback, with a Victory before him, having a Laurel Crown in her hand, and a Soldier following behind.

In another Medalion which I have ſeen of the ſame *Gordian*, ſuch Figures ſerve for the Reverſe; and it appears that from it this Repreſentation was taken, in order afterwards to be figured out on the Shield of *Probus*.

N. B. The Author of this Tranſlation thinks proper to acquaint the Reader, that in the original *Italian*, ſeveral Paſſages [relating to the Subject treated of in general] were added by the Marquis *Maffei* by way of Appendix at the end of his Book, and Reference made to particular Pages of the ſaid Treatiſe where they were to be inſerted; moſt of which are in this Tranſlation put into the Body of the Book, and added to the Text.

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